



**DELHI UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY**

*Presented by :*

**Dr. S. N. VERMA**

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Cl. No. X:3M2437

67

Ac. No. 375022

15 DEC 1975

Date of Release

This book should be returned on or before the date last s  
below. An overdue charge of 5 Paise will be collected for  
day the book is kept overtime.

---



# TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT

BEING

a lecture on the origin, growth and  
development of Socialism down to  
our own times with special reference  
to the onslaught of that movement in  
India

\_BY

ILYAS AHMAD, M.A. (Lko.)

*Lecturer, Department of Civics & Politics, Allahabad University ;  
Sometime Research Fellow and a Member of the Staff of the  
Department of Political Science, Lucknow University.*

"The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race ; posterity as well as the existing generation ; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth ; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."—J. S. MILL in "On Liberty."

ALLAHABAD

THE INDIAN PRESS, LTD.

*By the same Author*

# THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS

BEING

A COURSE OF LECTURES ON  
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

*Size Dy. 8vo.*

*Paper 40 lbs.*

*Pp. 392 (1937)*

*Price Rs. 5.*

*Printed and published by*

To

*all those sons of India who love its Hindu-Muslim-European and the much maligned bourgeois civilization, who believe in the progressive reform and evolution of its institutions, who stand for the gradual establishment of a real reign of social justice and of Equality of conditions to the widest possible extent, who strive for a policy of 'live and let live' and, therefore, work for a nationalism which is consistent with full and free confidence of and satisfaction to Minorities, and who are untiring in their effort for international harmony, peace and good-will,*

*this Lecture is affectionately dedicated.*

I should have much sympathy with an Indian who would, for once, flout the prestige of Europe and say to us: 'Our organization of nationality is not merely as good but better than yours. It is more reasonable to group men together on the basis of religion and culture than on geography. Our Indian nationalities are held together by the bonds of a common religion, common ideals and a community of historical antecedents.'

—SIR THEODORE MORISON.

## PREFACE

This Lecture was to be delivered by me in the Extra-Mural Lecture Series of the Faculty of Arts in the Allahabad University on the 27th of February, 1937. But owing to my sudden indisposition, it had to be postponed. It now, therefore, for the first time appears in print and is presented, for whatever it is worth, to a wider audience.

The subject-matter as it was on the 27th of February (along with many 'footnotes') substantially remains unchanged (though it has been curtailed at various places). Some other 'footnotes' had been added at the time of the National Convention in Delhi (for this lecture was then sent to the Press) but it could not be published for several months. During this interval, events took such a turn and advanced so rapidly that the 'footnotes' added at that time began to lose their significance. It thus became necessary that either I should revise them altogether or add fresh remarks according to the demands of the new situation. Hence I have further added brief 'notes' which I hope will explain and interpret the new situation in the light in which I have explained and interpreted other events.

This Lecture may fitly be regarded (but for its length) as a Complementary and Supplementary Chapter to Chapter XVII of my "First Principles of Politics" which has already been published by The Indian Press. That chapter deals with the 'Schools of Socialism' but not with the history of that movement. In this Lecture, I have discussed more the 'History' and 'Evolution' of the thought and practice of that movement touching only briefly on its various

whole of the Socialistic Thought and Movement up to the middle of September, 1937.

Socialism is yet in its infancy in India, and, therefore, I have tried to analyse the causes and hopes which are inspiring many a youth in this country for its early adoption as a national programme of political fight for freedom and independence. For these reasons, this Lecture is intended to be not only an introduction to the study of the Socialistic Thought and Movement for the students of Political Science but also for laymen even who want to pick up a necessary and accurate knowledge about the essentials of Socialism, for, in the future history of India, I think, that movement will play its part in the making or marring of our political destiny. So far as I am concerned, I have given sufficient indications of what I think of it, and now I leave it to my readers to form their own opinions (with a free and open mind and with no preconceived bias) as to the desirability or undesirability of accepting or rejecting it in our own country.

In the end, I should now acknowledge with gratitude and thanks the help that I have received from my friends and colleagues in bringing out this Lecture. Dr. Beni Prasad, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Professor and Head of the Department of Civics and Politics in the Allahabad University, was the first to read it through, and I am not merely indebted to him for his kindly advice and guidance, I owe him an apology for many untimely or odd-hour encroachments upon his valuable time. I am very much obliged to Dr. Benarsi Prasad Saxena, M.A., Ph.D. (London), and Dr. Ram Nath Dubey, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), for having seen this Lecture through the Press. If the former further helped me by his various suggestions, the latter most sincerely and

insistently urged its early publication for a wider audience. Lastly, I feel highly grateful to my younger brothers—Mr. Ovais Ahmad Adib, M.A., B.A. (Hons.), for having typed the whole Manuscript and the Bibliography when he was himself feverishly busy on his own research work in Urdu on the 'Indian Drama' and could, therefore, hardly spare time for any other work, and Mr. Mohammad Ahmad, B.Sc., for having drawn up and typed the Index and having done other necessary work in connection with the publication of this Lecture.

ILYAS AHMAD

Allahabad:

*September 15, 1937.*



## POSTSCRIPT

This Lecture had already been printed in all its details, when 'The Leader' of September 29, 1937, published an amazing statement of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru which he is reported to have made in connection with the Cawnpore Labour trouble. As the central feature of this Lecture is an interpretation of 'Nehruism' which, in practice, has been shown to be equivalent to Congress Socialism, this statement could in no case be neglected, for it directly goes counter to all that Pandit Nehru has been thinking and believing in, saying and expounding, doing and making propaganda of, and exhibiting and meaning by his actions and utterances throughout these recent years of his active political (or "presidential") life in this country. The statement in question runs thus:—

**"He believed in Socialism, and he was convinced that the country's problems could not be solved without Socialism. But he recognised that Socialism was impracticable under the present circumstances."**

I whole-heartedly congratulate Mr. Nehru on the dawning of this belated wisdom (as the proverb goes "Better late than never"), but may I ask if he would now cease preaching Socialism in this country or would he still try to create conditions for it? In Russia, they have created, at least for the time being, a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie (for they are now slowly moving, as they say, towards Communism). Will Mr. Nehru remain in India a

Socialist without Socialism? If this be so, then Nehruism would not merely remain 'Compromisism' which it has been till now, it is perhaps going to be 'Confusionism' also.

—(*October 1, 1937.*)

## CONTENTS

SECTIONS.	PAGE
Preface . . . . .	v
I. Introductory . . . . .	1
II. Utopianism . . . . .	4
III. Utopian Socialism . . . . .	9
IV. The Scientific Socialism of Karl Marx . . . . .	18
V. Socialism before the Great War . . . . .	24
VI. Socialism and the Great War . . . . .	52
VII. Socialism in the Post-War World . . . . .	54
VIII. Socialism in India . . . . .	75
IX. Islam and Socialism . . . . .	102
X. The Work of the International Labour Office and Conferences . . . . .	111
XI. Conclusion . . . . .	111
Appendix (I) U.S.S.R. Constitution of 1918 . . . . .	115
Do. (II) U.S.S.R. Draft Constitution of 1936 . . . . .	139
Do. (III) The Faizpur Congress Address of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, 1936 . . . . .	167
Do. (IV) Conventions and Recommenda- tions of the International Labour Conferences . . . . .	191
Select Bibliography . . . . .	201
Index (of the Lecture only) . . . . .	209



# Trends in Socialistic Thought And Movement:

*"Not only those who oppose and scorn the new gospel but also even many of those who are believers in it, have themselves no true idea, often not even the most distant conception, of what it really is that they fear or detest, that they despise or extol to the clouds"*

—Dr A Schaffle

*"We are led to believe that there are as many socialisms as there are socialists or that socialists themselves do not know what Socialism is."*

—The First Principles of Politics

## I. Introductory

Aristotle said that man by nature is a social animal.  
Machiavelli regarded him as a crafty and greedy animal  
who plays and can play the fox and the  
Man is a Mur-  
muring Animal lion and who can forget the death of his  
father but not the loss of his patrimony.  
Similarly, Hobbes spoke of him as a quarrelsome being,  
while Dean Inge even today regards him as a bloodthirsty  
savage that he has always been. Along with these estima-  
tions of the qualities of man, I am inclined to think that he

---

\* In writing out this lecture, among other works on socialism the most important of which I have already cited in my "First Principles of Politics," I am specially indebted to the following:

- (1) S F. Markham, "A History of Socialism"
- (2) H W Laidler, "A History of Socialistic Thought."
- (3) G. D. H Cole and M. I. Cole, "The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today."
- (4) J. O Hertzler, "The History of Utopian Thought."
- (5) Coker's. "Recent Political Thought"

is also a murmuring animal and he has ever been a murmuring animal. In no age we have found him satisfied with the present. He has either always longed for a better future or he has always glorified the past; in any case he has remained dissatisfied with the present. Rousseau even glorified that primitive existence when 'wild in woods the noble savage ran' 'satisfying his hunger at the first oak, and slaking his thirst at the first brook; finding his bed at the foot of the tree which afforded him a repast; and, with that, all his wants supplied,' while Herbert Spencer talked all his life about the blessedness of Final Anarchy which was his Millenium of a static repose for the human race.

The only solitary example that *idealised* the real is, perhaps, that of Hegel who found in social institutions the highest development of the idea and hence

Wisdom of fore-  
fathers and reason  
in human affairs.

a progressive unfolding of reason in human affairs. All social institutions of an age, therefore, are an embodiment of the highest reason and this is why the divine Burke asks us to regard the state as a permanent standing contract, a contract not simply with those who are living but also with those who are already dead and those that are yet to come.

But if Hegel and Burke thus emphasize the wisdom of our forefathers, there are others like Bentham who warn us against the follies of our ancestors.

Follies of Ancestors,  
and material  
conditions of existence.

Similarly, Karl Marx does not believe in the gradual unfolding of the idea or the objectification of reason: to him it is the material conditions of existence that mark out even the religion and the morality of a people. In one word, he does not believe in the philosophy of history, though he believes

in the economic or materialistic interpretation of history. He will therefore never give us a *philosophy of poverty*: he will emphasize the *poverty of philosophy*. He will never emphasize the sanctity of religion: he will declare it to be the 'opium' of the people. He will never stand for social morality. On the other hand, he will plead for class war and the abolition of privileges.

But it is not with Karl Marx only that the peculiar dissatisfaction against social institutions came into being. I have already remarked that man has always remained

Individualism  
always created a  
reaction for  
Collectivism.

discontented with the present and hence in every age he has written something against the institutions of that age. I am, therefore, inclined to think that whenever a spirit of individualism came to pervade human affairs, there unmistakably arose a sense of dissatisfaction against the prevailing institutions, [and schemes were propounded for a radical reorganization of society, and this reorganization always took the Collectivist trend. Thus the Sophist idea that '*man is a measure of all things*' resulted in Plato's Collectivist State, the individualism of the Social Contract writers terminated in Rousseau's Collectivism which found its logical expression in the Idealism of Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet, and the Individualism of the 'economic man' of the 19th century directly led to the economic Collectivism of Socialistic thought, and even in our own age when people began to emphasize the individualism of 'group existence' in our social life, we find the extreme collectivism taken up by the so-called Totalitarian State which has muzzled the 'wild beast' of liberty in nearly all its phases so that its motto has come to be 'Authority from above: responsibility from below.'

## II. Utopianism

But before I take up the definite trend that Socialistic thought has taken from the time of Karl Marx, or even with the so-called Utopian Socialists, I would briefly describe some of those radical schemes of reorganization mention of which has just been made, so that we may know how Utopianism was no mere wild imagination or fantasy of a particular writer: rather, it expressed a deep dissatisfaction of the age. Moreover, in a certain sense, I am inclined to regard all these Utopias also socialistic. For that purpose, I am quoting the opinion of Hayes on the origin, rise, and development of Nationalism. According to him this new religion has been propagated in various ways:

Utopianism as making the first though unconscious origin of socialism

Hayes' View on Nationalism

- (1) the elaboration of its doctrines by intellectuals;
- (2) then it was championed by groups and classes for their own interests; and, in the end,
- (3) it took hold of the masses.

First it caught the visionaries, then the classes and finally the masses. "From an unconscious process, it became an idea, from idea abstract principle; then fervid prepossession ending where it is today in dogma." No words could be better collected than these to express the origin, rise and development of Socialism, for in the Utopian writers socialism has been stated 'in a fit of absent-mindedness,' and it was certainly an unconscious process, for these visionaries never knew that they were sowing the seeds of a definite movement. It then became an idea, as we shall see, in the hands of the so-called Utopian Socialists who even tried to found communities. It was then taken up by Karl

Marx and rounded up into a systematic doctrine. The principle thus stated became a fervid prepossession and its spectre haunted humanity from 1848 till 1917, when passing through many ups and downs it got victory in Russia, which thus became the home of its actual birth. It is its spread from this home that has made it a dogma and it has already made way in other lands finding favour with the masses.

I consider Plato to be the starting point of Utopianism. Superficially viewed, his Republic appears to be nothing but an intellectual abandon of a thinker or the high pitched vision of a poet, but in fact it is a political diatribe on contemporary conditions. The gross economic inequalities, the utter selfishness of men and the seclusion of women all forced upon him a new scheme of social organization in which there may be no tyranny, no inequalities and no injustice, and woman also may take her part in social life according to her capacity; so that his 'Communism' was both a moral and economic remedy of a moral and economic malady. The abolition of the family and property was the abolition of the sources of mine and thine, and the sovereignty of the aristocracy of intellect, to the exclusion of artisans and workers, was a dictatorship not of the proletariat in the modern terminology, but of 'Philosopher Communists' who would take care of the 'physical, intellectual and moral qualities of men.'

Plato's disciple Aristotle, however, was not prepared to go to such lengths as the abolition of the family and property, for his idea was that human nature is so constituted that unless there is some personal interest in a matter, man is not moved to action.

Hence he holds that common possession always means common neglect and therefore families must not be abolished, for nurses cannot bestow the care of the parents, and property, too, though it may be privately owned, must be used in common. He, too, like his master, believes in the government of the aristocracy of talent and is, therefore, against the workers and artisans taking part in the act of administration.

In the Roman age the Stoic philosophy of a state of nature and natural law permeated Roman thought and it began to be argued by men like Seneca that the 'Communism' of the state of nature is far more desirable than the conventionalities of civilization for it has brought avarice and luxury and therefore inequalities which have so grievously divided man. In the legal thought of Rome, we find for the first time the terms '*res communis*' and '*res nullius*' used and communicated to the middle and modern ages. The time of the birth of Jesus was also such when 'equal rights were unknown; when half the population of Rome were slaves . . . when education was confined to the higher circles . . . (and when) taxation was a form of robbery.' He taught that 'Wealth consists in character, not in possession' and 'ye cannot serve God and Mammon.'

In the Middle Ages, it is true that the real dissatisfaction of man against his institutions was religious, but can it be separated from the economic conditions in which men were living? Hence though the treatises of men like St. Augustine (such as his 'City of God') were ethico-religious Utopias and were intended to establish God's reign over earth, they were also pamphlets against the

Seneca and the  
legal thought of  
Rome

St. Augustine,  
354—430 A.D. and  
Monastic Orders.

social and economic life of men, for otherwise why does St. Augustine refer to such things as 'adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings etc., as things of flesh? Besides, the whole system of Monastic Orders of the Middle Ages, though religiously based on renunciation, was economically based on Communistic ideas, and even beyond these religious Orders, the central idea of the Middle Ages regarding the use and possession of property has been its private possession but common use—a point which we trace to the influence of Aristotle. If no such great work of dissatisfaction has appeared in the Middle Ages as was the Republic of Plato, it was because of the influence of Christian Ethics, for every Christian was a brother and because the real purpose of his life was the preparation for the hereafter as Christ had himself said "My Kingdom is not of this World." Thus there was no great social cleavage and no grave inequality pervading the Christian society. Men in general felt satisfied with spiritual attainments and did not care much for riches and properties.

But when the Pope and Clergies became as worldly in their outlook as the feudal lords and nobles, we at once come

across an outburst of protests against the social order; and the greatest of these protests is the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.

Sir Thomas  
More, 1478—1535  
and Savonarola

Between 1452—1498 even Savonarola was forced to refer to the money spent on ornament and display, the emptiness of alms boxes and the ill-gotten gains of tradesmen and bankers, and More definitely points to the king rolling in wealth and pleasure and all about him mourning and

groaning, and the men of religion as scandalous as the laity. Property too had accumulated in fewer hands, and the generality of people forced by poverty to dispose of their goods and finding no other work, had no other recourse save 'to steal,' 'to beg' and 'be hanged.' Hence More also demanded community of property, the abolition of class distinctions and even the arrangement of common meals, though strange to say he is not against the family. He also advocated a system of universal education for the equal benefit of all.

After More, Francis Bacon's 'New Atlantis' (1622) came as an Utopia of a land of freedom and justice based upon the influence of science and knowledge

Francis Bacon,  
1561—1626 & Cam-  
panella, 1568—1639.

and hence his Utopia is based not on the Communism of wealth, family and property, but on the Communism of knowledge. Thus its citizens 'maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter but only for God's first creature which was *light*.' He too is not against the family. But his Italian contemporary Campanella's 'City of the Sun' (1623) is a mixture of Plato's Republic and More's Utopia, for he believes in the Communism of women and property. He is said to have declared that he wrote against three evils—Tyranny, Sophistry and Hypocrisy.

After these writers comes Harrington whose 'Oceana' (1656) is not a mere Utopia but a book which in the light of subsequent history, may be considered as

Harrington,  
1611—77 A.D.

one of the most realistic of political pamphlets ever written, for he sought to solve the needs of England, and his suggestions have been carried out in many walks of life. He recommended an Empire

of Laws rather than of men, and the four contrivances of secret ballot, indirect election (of officials), rotation of office and the two chamber system for pure and healthy government together with compulsory education are abiding monuments of his wisdom. It is true that England has not been able to bring about his 'Agrarian Balance' which means the division of property in land extensively for purposes of an equilibrium in the political power of a democracy, but still the spirit of that recommendation has always been working, for we find the continuous extension of franchise for that purpose. Even Green was later on against English land-lordism, though not against Capitalism so that Harrington's Utopianism has in practice proved to be the greatest of realisms.

From the works of these writers it is clear that in every age man has felt dissatisfied with his environments and

Man's dissatisfaction in every age has always longed for a better world to live in. He has, therefore, throughout been a murmuring animal, and his murmur, from the point of view of social organization, has usually taken a Collectivist trend. But the attempts of foregoing writers were merely sporadic attempts having no connection with any organization or movement. They only depict the dissatisfaction against social institutions which man has felt in every age.

### III. Utopian Socialism

After Harrington came a host of thinkers who not only suggested radical changes in the social organization,

The First Beginnings of Socialistic thought. but some of them even attempted to create 'Model Communities.' They 'challenged the psychological, and

ethical assumptions upon which the current defences of private property rested and showed the inhumane and unnatural consequences of unrestrained competition. They looked not to revolution by organised workers but to deliberate specific efforts of men inspired by feelings of benevolence and justice.' It is, therefore, from these Utopian Socialists that we date the rise of Socialistic thought, though in the scientific sense it begins with Karl Marx. Thus, before Marx drew up his Scheme of Scientific Socialism, the seeds had already been strewn all over; in so far as ideas had already been stated and the different ways of distributive justice had already been suggested. He had, therefore, only to till the ground and water it so that the plant may grow and it may give fruits to the coming generations.

These Utopian Socialists are in fact a product of conditions which brought about the French Revolution, and

The Utopian Socialists, except for Owen, all of them are French.

The grave inequalities, the gulf between the rich and the poor, and the social tyranny of every type not only forced a Voltaire to write satires, or a Rousseau to write dissertation on Inequalities and Social Contract, but there were also others who were touched to their depths and who proved "Keenly critical, ingeniously suggestive, and contagiously enthusiastic" in calling the attention of people to constructive methods for realizing equality, freedom and brotherhood. Among them Morelly, Babeuf (1764—1797), Gabet (1788—), St. Simon, Fourier and Louis Blanc are the greatest luminaries and the list becomes complete with Robert Owen in England (if we don't mention Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley etc., of America).

Morelly regarded Modern inequalities and human miseries the result of private property, for originally there was Communism prevailing everywhere and hence he pleaded for a return to the common ownership of all wealth and property and the common enjoyment of God-given things by all. He is the first to enunciate the formula '*Each is to labour according to his ability and share according to his needs.*' Further, he is also the first to emphasize not only the compulsory system of education but also the fact that it is not labour that men avoid: it is its unpleasantness that they hate. Hence make it attractive and worth their sweat.

Like Morelly, Babeuf also believed in the innocence of the state of nature and hence in its equality and happiness, for there 'every man has an equal right in the enjoyment of all goods' in lodging, food, clothes, washing, warming, lighting and medical attendance. *His equality was therefore absolute both in quality and quantity*, and this was to be brought about by a gradual nationalization. First of all, all property of corporations or individuals was to be nationalized and then all individuals will have to work so that art and literature will have no superiority: they would rather become inferior, and education too will remain only elementary. All would thus eat alike and dress alike and would thus be ungrudgingly happy.

Following these writers, Cabet also drew a picture of an ideal Common-Wealth in his book '*The Voyage to Icaria.*' It is an industrialized state on a national scale, where all men, women and children 'are dressed alike, although variety is allowed in colours'. They eat alike and work alike, and their

education begins at the age of 5 and they retire from public life at the age of 65. Cabet himself tried to found such a colony\* in Texas, and then in Nauvoo (in Illinois) but because of dissensions, it proved a failure.

He was followed by another great writer, St. Simon, Like Babeuf he did not favour a revolution for the transformation of society: he was for a gradual and constructive effort in the making of the ideal society which was to be a 'cooperative Commonwealth, ruled bureaucratically by an aristocracy of science'. This aristocracy of knowledge and industry was one of experts and was to meet in three chambers of Invention, Examination and Execution and comprised of Artists, Engineers, Men of letters, Industrial leaders, Bankers and Capitalists. He emphasized the natural inequality of men and hence held *that positions were to be assigned according to capacity and that each one was to be rewarded according to his works*. Thus there was to be no community of goods. He, however, did not favour inheritance and preached that land, capital and all the instruments of labour should become common property and it should be so managed that *each receives according to his capacity and labour*. Lastly, family too was not to be abolished and woman was to be the equal of her husband in all social life.

St. Simon was followed by Fourier who suggested a new social organization on the harmonization of human passions which were 12 in number and were divided in three classes. The five senses—of taste, touch, sight, smell and hearing, are the sources of luxury; the four appetites of the soul—of friend-

---

\* In this connection, it would be interesting to study the ends and principles underlying the establishment of our Dayal Bagh Colony.

ship, love, family-feeling and ambition, tend to create groups, and thirdly, the three passions of planning, change and unity created intrigue or emulation, a desire for variety or novelty, and also union and affection among human beings. Hence, according to him, the free interplay of these forces will create one supreme passion of love uniting men and groups in a common life of harmonious coöperation. The men and women in his ideal society were, therefore, to come together in Phalanxes (small communities of 400 to 2000) and should divide themselves in 'groups' and then in 'series' (each series being a unit of 7 to 9) according to their passions, for in a particular group of work each may undertake that series in which he is interested and which he can leave to another as soon as he feels tired or dissatisfied there, so that in this change of occupation according to one's taste or interest the dull monotony will be absent and each citizen will realise the joy of work. As all would work, food too will be cooked in a common kitchen and they will take it in a common hall. But curiously enough from 'the product of industry, a sum is set aside for each member of the community and the surplus is divided in a peculiar way between labour, capital and talent in these proportions— $\frac{5}{12}$ ths of this surplus to labour,  $\frac{4}{12}$ ths to capital and  $\frac{3}{12}$ ths to talent.' Thus the motto of St. Simon is modified into the formula: *from each according to his capacity and to each according to his labour, capital and talent*, for labour to him was of three kinds—necessary labour receiving the highest reward, useful labour occupying the middle position and agreeable labour implying the least contribution. Fourier, like some of those before him, was also offered an estate at Versailles to found a community based on his ideas but failed. His

followers, too, then attempted several others but with similar results, so that like other experiments of founding ideal communities Fourierism also proved a hopeless failure.

Fourier was followed by another writer, Louis Blanc, who has been regarded as the hyphen between the Utopian

Louis Blanc,  
1813—1882

School and Marxism. He not only used the state machinery to put in force his ideas, but he was the first to appeal to workers for the work of transformation. He also stood for the highest development of the personality of every one and therefore wanted freedom for all to achieve that ideal. Hence Social Workshops must be started by the state in which work would be guaranteed to all, for then not only would the poor be getting instruments from the state but the workshop itself would be granted credits by it so that the money-lender or the capitalist may not take undue advantage of his position. In the workshop itself, the management would be gradually elected by the workers themselves. Such undertakings as railways, mines and banks must be managed by the state. These workshops would then be united into a great federation so that the failure of one workshop may not affect its stability. The capitalists may be paid interest on their investments, but attempt should be made for the success of the workshop system so that in the end either all private capitalistic enterprises may be merged in the national one or disappear for want of support or profit. In this way, the Socialistic Common-Wealth would be ushered in without revolution, without blood and without armed antagonism. The motto in the new Commonwealth, according to Louis Blanc would be 'service according to capacity' for if one is very intelligent or strong, he was made so by nature for his own community. Hence he must

give his service ungrudgingly and take things according to his needs. Thus his formula came to be '*From each according to his capacity: to each according to his needs.*'

In England also the French Revolution was being closely watched. Moreover, the Industrial Revolution had already begun and the English society was undergoing transformation. Hence if men like Burke and Blackstone justified private property, men like Wallace and Paley condemned it as immoral, and Spence, Ogilvie and Thomas Paine gave out definite proposals for its limitation. Thus Spence was a single taxer, for all land according to him was to be transferred to the people's parishes who would rent it to farmers on nominal tax which was to be the only tax in the kingdom. Ogilvie considered all men equal sharers in land, but if one improves its quality or produce, he is entitled to a further reward, but any one who enjoys property without labour is a 'freebooter who has found means to cheat or rob the public. The hereditary revenue of a great landlord is a premium given to idleness.' Similarly, Paine proposed an Inheritance Tax which was to be imposed by the Community for distributing it to the landless proletariat. But these were not the only writers who were against the accumulation of wealth and of private property. Just as Proudhon (1809—1865) in France favoured Anarchy in which there was to be no government, and property was theft. In the same way in England, Godwin was writing against the immoral effects of private property for it made the workers not only slaves, but also robbed them of 'leisure' which is the real wealth of the nation. No one had a right to superfluities and hence could take from the common stock only as much as he needed, but,

The Industrial  
Revolution in  
England and men  
like Spence, Ogilvie,  
Paine and Godwin

this must be remembered, he too never favoured Communism, but only Anarchy as based on individual personality.

Besides all these writers, even the poets like Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge, began to lament the growing inequalities, and focussed attention on 'what man has made of man.' Thus Southey observed:

The Poets and  
Social Conditions

' . . . . . Nature gives enough  
For all, but man, without arrogant selfishness  
Proud of his heaps, hoards up superfluous stores  
Robbed from his weaker fellows, starves the poor,  
On gives to pity what he owes to justice.'

But these were not all. Now came writers like Charles Hall who first calls attention to the struggle between the Working and Capitalistic classes, and Ricardo who put forth his theories of Value and Wages. The first meant that the exchange value of a thing depends upon the labour spent on it and the wages must take account of *at least* the bare necessities of the worker. Thus decades earlier the ideas which were later on grouped up into a whole by Marx, had been enunciated in England by a host of writers besides those already noted above, such as William Thompson, Thomas Hodgskin, John Gray, etc. "These men" says Coker\* "set forth fully the doctrine that wage workers, in fields, factories and mines, are the real producers of wealth, most of which is unjustly taken away from them by employers, traders, and other non-producers, and they proposed collectivist schemes . . . a state monopoly of the services of marketing and banking, a currency system based on time units of labour, voluntary cooperation and societies

---

\*Recent Political Thought, pp. 17-18.

—in order either to insure an exchange of goods on the basis of the quantities of labour employed in producing them or to secure generally an equitable distribution of wealth among those who create it.”

Thus it is clear that it was not simply in France that thinkers wanted transformation, England also was seething with discontent. In such an environment <sup>Bentham and Owen, 1771—1858</sup> it was but natural that it should also produce eminent men who might either emphasize the use of the machinery of the state for bringing about reform or throw suggestions of transformation by writing Utopias which was the method of the times. These needs were fulfilled by men like Jeremy Bentham and Robert Owen. Both of them stood for the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but while the former would like the Sovereign state to become the service state in every sense of the term, the latter turned Utopian and suggested a gradual realization of Communism. Villages of ‘Unity and Co-operation’ (Owen’s parallelograms) for the unemployed consisting of from 500 to 2000 men were to be established and were to have common dining rooms, reading rooms, gardens and play grounds. Each family would live in separate compartments but, after 3 years, the children would pass to the care of the community. These ideas Owen tried to realise in his ‘New Harmony’ Colony but failed grievously.

#### IV. The Scientific Socialism of Karl Marx

With Owen, Utopian thinking comes to an end, but with all its failures it did not prove barren in its results. It was certainly an unhistorical attempt at social reconstruction, but it focussed attention on social evils of the day and opened the way for other acute observers to complete the task which it had begun. This task of reinterpretation, as has been already stated, was taken up by Karl Marx. His teacher Hegel was already lecturing on the Philosophy of History and the development of the idea. He, therefore, at once caught at the weakness of Utopian Socialism, and began to interpret social phenomena in terms of history and economics, for the latter too had already been emphasized by men like Spence, Ricardo and Hall; and in Germany itself, besides Karl Marx, Rodbertus (1805—75), Engels (1820—95), and Lassalle (1825—64) had already begun discussing the social and economic affairs of their times. Karl Marx, because of his fiery temperament, at once attracted the wrath of Prussian authorities and had to fly to France, to Belgium and then to England; and in the meantime he had formed friendship with Engels as both of them had identical views on the problems of the day. In 1847 a society of socialists was founded in London and after consulting Marx and Engels they summoned an International Congress which resulted in the formation of the Communistic League; its purpose being 'the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old society resting on class antagonisms, and the founding of a new society without private classes and without private

Usefulness and defects of Utopianism and the coming of Karl Marx, 1818—83

property.' In this way, the Communists' Manifesto of 1848 came to be the basis of the new Movement.

(a) *The Communist Manifesto of 1848.*

This Manifesto was called "Communist" and not Socialist, because, as Engels tells us, the word Socialist was associated with the Utopians and other writers who professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social evils and grievances. But those of the workers who had become convinced of the futility of mere political revolutions, and had felt the necessity of a total social change, called themselves Communists.

The Manifesto emphasises, in the first place, the rise to the forefront of the Bourgeois and the Proletariat and therefore of the class struggle which will ultimately result in the victory of the latter. Secondly, it makes it clear that the Communists have no interests opposed to the other working class parties or apart from the proletariat as a whole.

Its Chief Features.  
(1) Rise of Bourgeois and Proletariat

They have the interests of the whole proletariat in view, independently of all nationality and that they represent the interest of *the movement as a whole*. They, therefore, aim at the formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy and conquest of political power by the proletariat. Their measures in advanced countries, therefore, will be:

(2) The communists want to create a class of their own with definite objects.

- (1) Abolition of the property in land.
- (2) A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

- (3) Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
- (4) Centralization of Credit in the hands of the state by means of a national bank.
- (5) Centralization of means of transport and communication.
- (6) Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state.
- (7) Equal obligation of all to work.
- (8) Combination of agriculture with industries.
- (9) Free education of all children in public schools.  
Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form after abolition of classes.

In this way they will come to have an association in which the free development of each would be the condition for the free development of all.

Thirdly,<sup>2</sup> the Manifesto critically examines Socialistic and Communistic

(3) Criticism of the various Schools of Socialism.

Literature and notes its viewpoint regarding each of the prevalent forms of Socialism. Thus

1. Reactionary Socialism. (1) under *Reactionary Socialism* it considers several varieties of it.

(a) The so called *Feudal Socialism* of the aristocracy which, finding the rise of the bourgeoisie, began to sympathise with workers, forgetting that they had similarly exploited them before the Industrial Revolution. In the same way, Christian Socialism is nothing but 'the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the aristocrats.'

(b) The *Petty Bourgeois Socialism* of Sismondi in France who stood for the woes of that lower middle class

which in the growing competition was relegated to the lot of the proletariat but which before this was always with the higher classes. It stands for corporate guilds, for manufacture, patriarchal relations in agriculture and is thus also reactionary and Utopian.

(c) The so-called *True Socialism* of Germany came in when, after French Revolution, the bourgeoisie there had begun its contest with feudal absolutism. It therefore talked of bourgeois press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty etc., and preached to masses that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by this movement.

(2) Under the *Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism* fall those who wanted reform of the present society—

2. *Conservative Socialism.* philanthropists, organisers of charities etc. etc. Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty* was such a thing. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. "The bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class!" This is its constant theme.

(3) The Critical Utopian Socialism of Owen, Fourier etc., 'inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in

3. *Critical Utopian Socialism.* its crudest form and dreamt of setting up 'phalansteres' and 'Little Icarias'—"pocket editions of the New Jerusalem"—thus violently opposing all political action on the part of the working classes.

Lastly, the Manifesto states the relation of Communists to various existing parties and declares that they would

support every revolutionary movement

Communists would support every revolutionary movement.

everywhere. According to it Germany was ripe for revolution, but they stood for the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions everywhere, for the Proletarians 'have nothing to

lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite!'

(b) *The First International, 1864.*

But inspite of this Manifesto, the Communist League was dissolved in 1852. It was then in 1864 that the Socialists found a real opportunity of advancing their cause. They called a public meeting of the working men of all nations in London and an International Association was founded for the unity and advance of the cause of the workers. This Association is called the *First International of Socialism* for it regularly called Congresses at Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basel (1869) and clearly defined, in terms of demands and principles, the objects of the socialistic movement. In 1869, a Russian anarchist, Bakunin, also joined the Association, but his party, though in minority, was never in agreement with that of Marx so that at the Hague Conference (1872) the anarchists were expelled, and the seat of the General Council of the Association was removed to New York. But this step heralded its own death, for after the Congress of 1873 in Geneva it never met again. The International had silently passed away. But this does not mean that the whole show proved barren in its results. It had already created consciousness among workers and had laid the foundations of international consultation in the common cause. It had already created a stir throughout Europe, for the antagonism between the working classes and the capitalists had already come into being and the government of each country had recognised that a new problem had arisen—a

problem which had to be faced with courage and determination.

(c) *The Principles of Scientific Socialism.*

By this time, even Karl Marx had become mature in his ideas and in 1867 he published the first volume of his 'Capital' which became the Bible of Socialism in which he expounded the principles of that movement in a way that even today they remain unaltered, or unadded, the nucleus of the so-called Revolutionary Socialism. These principles are three in number. His central doctrine, of course, is the *Economic* or *the Materialistic Interpretation of History*

(a) The Economic interpretation of history by which he means to suggest that legal relations, forms of state, customs and manners, religion and philosophy are not the results of the progress of human mind as Hegel would have us believe. On the contrary, they have always been and are the results of material conditions in which men have found themselves so that the history of human development is nothing but a history of the struggle of classes in which the dominant class has always moulded the social institutions according to its interests. This takes us to his second

(b) The doctrine of Class War. doctrine—*the doctrine of class war* which means that the evolution of capital and industry has passed through several stages—the period of handicrafts, the period of manufactures, the period of great industry and lastly, in our own times, the period of the concentration of capital so that two antagonistic camps have come into being in our present day society—the camps of the 'haves' and of the 'have-nots' of which the latter will

rise in revolt and seize power to bring about the transformation. Thus we reach the third principle of (c) Labour theory of Value and surplus value. Karl Marx—his *labour theory of value* which means that labour is the sole source of wealth and that the capitalist after paying wages to workers usurps the surplus value which is therefore his unearned income.

## V. Socialism before the Great War 1848—1913

### (a) In Germany.

But in Germany these revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx could not from the beginning hold ground, for Rodbertus and Lassalle were themselves men of ideas, and therefore, already commanded great influence in their country. Rodbertus had also emphasized labour as the source of wealth, but he did not want class war. He recommended state ownership of land and capital and hence its regulation of wages, rents and profits so that his theory was not a theory of international socialism,—of ‘workers of the world—unite!’—but a *definitely national programme meant for Germany only*. Similarly, Lassalle from the very start emphasized the *national basis* of all reform. He asked the workers to stand for universal suffrage, and for state action for bringing about amelioration in their condition. He, therefore, preached against the prevailing individualism and the negative function of the state of letting the individual alone; he definitely wanted positive action by the state for it was always a ‘complement of the individual,’ never its antithesis. It must do all it can for his realizing of freedom, culture and happiness. The workers should form a political

party of their own, to urge the gradual betterment of their lot.

These ideas soon became popular with the working class and they founded the Universal German Working Men's Association at Leipzig in May 1863 with Universal suffrage as their chief end, but at this stage Lassalle died (1864) and hence the work of the association suffered as much from the absence of a good leader as from the policy of the state which now came to be directed by Bismarck. Further, there came to be a division among the workers themselves, a new Working Men's Association was founded at Frankfurt (1863), as against the so-called Lassalle Association, and in 1869 the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party was founded at Eisenach and it declared its adhesion to the principles of the International.

Both these associations, however, could not be tolerated by Bismarck who began to persecute them severely; but this step hardened opposition and in the Congress at Gotha (1875) the two wings came to be united under the name of the Socialistic Working-men's Party and they issued the famous *Gotha Programme* of which the chief points may be stated thus:—

(1) Labour is the source of all wealth and all product belongs to society. All should work and each one should take according to his reasonable needs. At present, the Capitalistic class owns all instruments of labour and hence the emancipation of labour demands that these instruments should become the common property of society.

(2) On these principles, the party aims, *by all legal means*, to bring in the free state and the socialistic society.

to destroy the Iron Law of Wages and to destroy all social and political inequality. The party no doubt will work within national limits but it would never forget the international character of the labour movement and the realization of the brotherhood of man. It also demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with state help under the democratic control of workers.

(3) The party further demands as the basis of the state :

- (i) Universal, equal and direct right of electing and voting.
  - (ii) Direct legislation by the people and questions of war and peace to be decided by the people.
  - (iii) Universal military duty thus creating a people's army.
  - (iv) Abolition of all laws against press, unions and meetings etc.
  - (v) Universal, equal and compulsory Education.
  - (vi) Administration of Justice by the people.
- (4) Lastly, the party also demands :
- (a) Greatest possible extension of franchise.
  - (b) A single progressive income tax.
  - (c) Unrestricted right of Combination.
  - (d) A normal Working day according to needs of society.
  - (e) Prohibition of Children's labour, and of all women's labour which is injurious to health.
  - (f) Laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen. An Employers' Liability Act. Worker-inspectors of factories, and mines etc.

From these points, it is clear that the programme was not merely a marriage of nationalism and democracy with socialism, it was a cohesion of the principles of Rodbertus, Lassalle and Karl Marx together with the ideas of the two great Socialistic leaders—Liebknecht and Bebel—who were now leading the workers in Germany. Necessarily, therefore, they invited the wrath of Bismarck who at once issued his anti-Socialistic laws (1878) which continued in force till 1890 when the great ‘pilot’ was himself ‘dropped’ and his socialistic laws repealed.

The Fall of  
Bismarck and the  
repeal of anti-  
socialistic laws

The socialists also lost no time. They met at Erfurt (1891) and drew up a fresh programme of which the salient features do not differ from those of the Gotha Programme but which is certainly *more Marxian in language, more definite and more outspoken*, though it does not accept the theories of surplus value and the economic interpretation of history. This is perhaps because of the growing influence of the ideas of Bernstein who later on laid the foundations of the so-called Revisionism. But before we take to Bernstein’s principles, it is advisable to see to the details of that programme, which I reproduce in full below from Markham’s History of Socialism, and which runs thus:

The Erfurt  
Programme and  
Appearance of  
Bernstein.

“The Economic development of the bourgeois society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of the small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production, and

The Erfurt  
Programme 1891.

transforms him into a proletarian without property, whilst the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

"This monopolising of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the development of the tool into the machine, and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labour. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolised by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the declining intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors—it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

"Ever greater grows the number of the proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between exploiters and exploited, ever bitterer the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial land.

"The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalistic method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, and prove that the productive forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

"Private property in the instruments of production which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become

the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers, and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists, and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into society property, and the transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labour may become for the hitherto exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

“This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the labouring class, because all other classes, inspite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

“The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle and cannot develop its economic organisation, without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society without coming into possession of political power.

“To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic Party.

"In all lands where the capitalistic method of production prevails the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market, the condition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally interested. Recognising this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

"The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it struggles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex, or race.

"Proceeding from these principles the Social Democratic Party of Germany now demands:

1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with vote by ballot for all men and women of the Empire over twenty years of age. Proportional electoral system; and, till the introduction of this, legal redistribution of seats after every census. Biennial legislative periods. Elections to take place on a legal day of rest. Payment of representatives. Abolition of all limitation of political rights, except in the cases of disfranchisement.

2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of the right of initiative and referendum. Self-government of

the people in Empire, State, Province, and Commune. Officials to be elected by the people; responsibility of officials. Yearly granting of taxes.

3. Training in universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies. Decision on peace and war by the representatives of the people. Settlement of all international differences by arbitration.

4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress the free expression of opinion and the right of union and meeting.

5. Abolition of all laws which, in public or private matters, place women at a disadvantage as compared with men.

6. Religion declared to be a private matter. No public funds to be applied to ecclesiastical and religious purposes. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations which manage their own affairs in a perfectly independent manner.

7. Secularisation of the school. Obligatory attendance at the public people's schools. Education, the appliances of learning, and maintenance free in the public people's schools, as also in the higher educational institutions for those scholars, both male and female, who, by reason of their talents, are thought to be suited for further instruction.

8. Administration of justice and legal advice to be free. Justice to be administered by judges chosen by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation for those who are innocently accused, imprisoned, and condemned. Abolition of capital punishment.

9. Medical treatment, including midwifery and the means of healing, to be free. Free burial.

10. Progressive income and property taxes to meet all public expenditure, so far as these are to be covered by taxation. Duty of making one's own return of income and property. Succession duty to be graduated according to amount and relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other financial measures which sacrifice the collective interest to the interests of a privileged minority.

"For the protection of the working class the Social Democratic Party of Germany demands:

(1) An effective national and international protective legislation for workmen on the following bases:

(a) Fixing of a normal working day of not more than eight hours.

(b) Prohibition of money-making labour of children under fourteen years.

(c) Prohibition of night work, except for those branches of industry which from their nature, owing to technical reasons or reasons of public welfare, require night work.

(d) An unbroken period of rest of at least thirty-six hours in every week for every worker.

(e) Prohibition of the truck system.

(2) Supervision of all industrial establishments, investigation and regulation of the conditions of labour in town and country by an imperial labour department, district labour offices, and labour chambers. A thorough system of industrial hygiene.

(3) Agricultural labourers and servants to be placed on the same footing as industrial workers; abolition of servants' regulations.

(4) The right of combination to be 'placed on a sure footing.

(5) Undertaking of the entire working men's insurance by the Empire, with effective cooperation of the workmen in its administration."

After studying the Erfurt programme, we may now touch upon Bernstein's principles. Bernstein not only criticised the Marxian premises of the Economic Interpretation of history and labour theory of value, he was also, on the whole, against the progressive concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands. He denied that the collapse of the capitalist system was imminent, and hence stood for ordered progress towards socialism rather than for a 'catastrophic crash.' The working classes having become conscious of their rights, their labour can no longer be exploited by the Capitalists with such ease as they did before. Hence, he is led to declare, 'I strongly believe in the socialist movement, in the march forward of the working classes, who step by step must work out their emancipation by changing society from the domain of a commercial land-holding oligarchy to a real democracy which in all its departments is guided by the interests of those who work and create.

The unity of the party, however, did not break in the 19th century for in spite of the death of Leibknecht in 1900,

Bebel successfully led it till 1913 when his death opened the way of schisms, resulting in three branches at the Congress of Jena, 1913. The *Radicals* became more

and more Marxian, the *Central party* maintained the historical compromise of Lassalle and Marx,

and therefore, formed a national democratic socialistic programme; while the *Revisionists* definitely began to criticize nearly all the basic principles of Marx. This was the state of socialistic thought and movement in Germany when the Great War broke out.

Having surveyed the history of German Socialism we will now survey the development of Socialistic thought and movement in other countries such as <sup>Socialism in</sup> other Lands England, France and Russia so that we may know its real position in the world when the Great War broke out, and then see as to how socialists behaved in different lands during that mighty conflagration and what effect it ultimately produced on Socialisms of various lands and on the world as a whole, and in what situation, both in thought and movement, it finds itself today on the different continents which it has invaded and in which it has come to stay or settle. To begin with England.

(b) *In England.*

We have already seen how Bentham and Owen had tried to emphasize the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and how the sovereign state was to become the service state. It was in their <sup>Socialism in</sup> England and the first use of that word. time that the term socialism itself was first used in 1833 in the Poor Man's Guardian and became current in connection with the discussions that arose on the foundation, by Owen, of *the Association of all classes of all Nations* (1835). It was then taken up and popularized by the French Reybaud in France and on the continent.

In England, however, it was in 1832 that the Reform Bill was passed, but the workers had been ignored.

They necessarily felt resentment at their lot for the state was going to do nothing for the amelioration of their condition.

Chartism and  
Christian Socialists  
Maurice and  
Kingsley

Their resentment found expression in chartism which, though not socialistic, was yet an expression of seething economic discontent. This lot of the working classes at once drew the attention of humanitarians like Rev. F. D. Maurice and Rev. Charles Kingsley who thus came to be the founders of the so called *Christian Socialism*, for according to them Socialism was nothing but "Christianity applied to social reform." 'We are teaching,' said Maurice, 'true Socialism, true liberty, brotherhood and equality—not the carnal dead level equality of the Communist, but the spiritual equality of the church idea, which *gives every man an equal chance of developing and rewards everyman according to his work.*' 'Hence' asks Kingsley, 'Workers of England, be wise, and then you *must* be free, and you will be *fit* to be free.' On their initiative, Workers Cooperative Productive Associations were started on the model of Rochdale Cooperative (Manchester 1844), and though Cooperation made great progress till the Eighties, yet, on the whole Christian Socialism never gained ground and therefore faded away within four or five years of its birth. It was later on again revived in the eighties by the Bishop of Durham who founded the Christian Socialist Union in 1889, but this time it emphasized 'land reform' rather than 'Cooperative Production.' It, however, also met the same fate as the Original Christian Socialism.

Besides Maurice and Kingsley, another writer, though he was the greatest individualist of the times, was day by

day moving towards Socialism. That writer was J. S. Mill. Thus his first utterance marking this transition was against the sacredness of the private property in land 'for no man made the land; it is the original inheritance of the whole species.' For this purpose he even founded the Land Tenure Reform Association (1870) and towards the end of his life he wrote that 'the social problem of the future' was to be 'how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour.'

Besides the Cooperative movement and the Land Reform activities, the increase of franchise by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 still further strengthened labour organizations, for in 1874 they even returned two workmen to the House of Commons so that in the last quarter of the 19th Century, Socialism came to stay in England also, but, as we shall see, it was modified to suit English temperament and traditions and was therefore never pure or unmixed Marxian Socialism.

It was in 1881 that Hyndman drew the attention of Englishmen by writing his 'England for All' and in the same year he founded the "Democratic Federation" to carry on the "great work of Spence and Owen, Stephens and Oastler, O'Connor and O'Brien, Earnest Jones and George J. Harney." At first the Federation emphasized the nationalization of land, then it began to talk in terms of nationalization of the means of life and finally it stated its policy in 1884 thus:

J. S. Mill

The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884.

Hyndman and the Social Democratic Federation.

*'Labour is the source of all Wealth, therefore, all wealth belongs to labour. The object of the Social Democratic Federation is the establishment of a free Society, based on the principles of political equality, with equal social rights for all and complete emancipation of labour.'* The production of wealth was to be regulated by society in the Common interests of all; the means of production, distribution and exchange were to be declared Collective property.

But soon within the same year, because of these extreme leanings, there came to be a split among the Federationists, and though the Federation lived on with its Marxian principles, a separate Socialist League also came to be founded by Bax and William Morris, but because of its anarchist outlook, it acquired no moral or material support and thereby died unseen and unknown by 1890.

But at this time a group of youngmen who did not believe in the revolutionary upturning of the bases of society and the social system without doing much harm to the cause of progress, founded the so-called Fabian Society in 1884, and laid down the following principles as the basis of its Socialism (1887):

(1) Reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital and vesting them in the community for the general benefit. Thus the so-called 'Rent' and 'Interest' will also be added to the reward of Labour, and the idle class would disappear.

(2) The spread of Socialist opinions and their permeation in the community.

(3) The establishment of equal citizenship for men and women.

(4) This policy of reorganization and nationalization should begin from municipalization so that success in local affairs may convince the community of the good of Socialism which will thus gradually find its way in the Central Government also. In this way, by a gradual process of evolution England would turn Socialist.

These doctrines were promulgated and popularized through lectures, and the publication of the 'Fabian Essays' of 1889 in which such brilliant men as  
The noted Fabians. G. B. Shaw, Sidney Webb, Sydney Olivier, the late Prof. Graham Wallas, the late Mrs. Annie Besant and Wm. Clarke contributed, and therefore the society, because of its high intellectual level, later on attracted even such men as H. G. Wells, Ramsay Macdonald, Keir Hardie, G. D. H. Cole and Professor Laski.

With all these activities of the Fabians, however, it was very well recognized by them (and Webb admits it) that no progress would be made by them unless they created a political socialist party in opposition to the Liberals and the Conservatives. This need was fulfilled by the energies of Keir Hardie. A labour Conference at Bradford in 1893 led to the founding of the *Independent Labour Party* which was in the beginning more 'labour' than 'socialist,' but gradually every Trade Union Congress discussed Socialism and in the end accepted it, so that by this time three socialistic organizations came into being—the Social Democratic Federation which was more Marxian, the Fabians who were more intellectualists and the Independent Labour Party which was now the only political party as opposed to the parliamentarianism of Liberals and Conservatives. In the Trade Union Congress of 1899 a resolution demanded all the

socialist organizations to cooperate in sending more labour members to the Parliament and in the London Conference of 1900 they did create a *Labour Representation Committee* of all, but the Social Democratic Federation withdrew in 1901 because its radicalism could not be reconciled with the moderate Socialisms of other organizations. In the New Castle Conference (1903), this patching of different groups was done away with and the so-called *Labour Party* *Labour (Parliamentary) Party* came into being. From 1906 it began regularly to take part in all elections, but *it did not put forward a distinct Socialistic programme*. Hence some of the disaffected members joined hands with the Social Democratic Federation in 1911 and founded the *British Socialist Party*. But at their Conference in 1914 they affiliated themselves to the Labour Party so that when the Great War came in there were three great Socialist parties in England—*The Independent Labour Party whose bulwark was Trade Unionism*, the Fabians as lecturing Socialists, and the Labour Party which was now the only parliamentary party and with which the Independent Labour Party as well as the Fabians cooperated, the former because its aim from its very inception had been the Collective ownership and control of the means of production to be achieved through parliamentary action as also democracy in local and central government, and the latter because their ideas also did not materially differ from this position.

But in 1912, another school of Socialism had already made its appearance. This was the so-called Guild Socialism, but its beginnings had already been laid by the writings of A. G. Penty

in 1906 and the subsequent discussions as they were pushed forward by A. R. Orage and S. C. Hobson. Mr. G. D. H. Cole took up its cause and wrote profusely for it. The foundation of the National Guilds League in 1915 brought into being a definite movement of which the aim was to be the 'abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with other democratic functional organizations in the community.' Thus those disaffected elements of the Socialists who were dissatisfied with the incompetence of the Labour party in bringing about socialist legislation, or who favoured control by the workers, at once joined it so that it came to be the hyphen between the state socialism of the Fabians and the trade Unionism of the workers. But because of war conditions it also could not make much progress, and after a few years of the termination of the war, lost all its fervour and glamour so that by 1922 it was more or less extinct as a movement, if not as a school of thought.

### (c) *In France*

Having traced the growth of Socialistic thought and activity in England before the Great War, let us now take up Socialism in France. During the Revolutionary era, as has been already stated, Utopianism had held sway for the transformation of the social order, but it does not mean that men in daily political life were silent. Even after the establishment of the Republic which had been created for liberty, equality and fraternity, the lot of workers did not improve,

On the other hand, by successive Laws they had been forbidden 'to combine.' But in spite of these, *Trade Unions* did come into being, and with them agitation and strike, but it was not till 1864 that *strike* could be legalised. In the mean time, *producers'*

*cooperative societies* developed in large numbers and when the First International was founded in London (1864), in France also some of the Workers organized

themselves as *Mutualists* standing for mutual insurance, syndical organization and the cooperative societies; for the idea had gained ground that labour must stand on its own feet if it wants its freedom. But persecu-

tion by the government led *Blanqui, Guesde, and Brousse* to organize revolutionary secret societies and it was in 1879 that the Marseilles Trade

Union Congress decided for the collectivity of soil, of instruments of labour and of raw materials, and founded the *Federation of Socialist Working-men of France*. This was done under the leadership of Guesde, but soon Paul Brousse who was not a marxist, separated his group of Possibilists or Opportunists. They believed in parliamentary action, in the gradual socialization from the Municipality to the national organization, while the Guesdists definitely wanted to destroy 'the state, expropriate the Capitalistic class and reorganize society on communist and federalistic lines.'

But in 1884 Trade Unions also came to be legalized and hence Syndicalism which has been the characteristic

French Movement, came into being. In 1887 a *National Federation of Syndicates* was organized, and it was also followed by the organization of Labour exchanges (*Bourses du Travail*)

*Syndicalism and other Socialist groups.*

which were also federated in 1892 as *Federation of Bourses du Travail*. It was this organization that first adopted the method of General Strike. Thus during the nineties there were not only Guesdists, Broussists and Syndicalists in France, there were also other minor groups like the Allemanists and independent socialists, so that the multiple party system which has been the bane of French parliamentary life, did not spare Socialism also, and therefore the history of socialistic thought and movement in France is a history of shuffling and reshuffling of these groups, for though in 1905 the United socialist Party had come into being, by 1914 again Republican Socialists, Radical Socialists and Independent Socialists had made their appearance.

But among all these Socialists, it is only the Syndicalists who demand our attention, for they were not only 'orthodox' Socialists following Marx for their basic premises, but they had a philosophy of their own. Their philosopher was Sorel and their principles are as follows:—

(1) They do not reject the Marxian class war idea, rather they build upon it and maintain that the 'syndicate or the Trade Union organization of Workers should be the centre of their activity.

(2) They do not talk in terms of the Community. They believe in the aggressive action of workers and in the establishment of Workers government for the good of all.

(3) Thus these workers are to be a militant Minority and they would carry on their guérilla warfare with such weapons as sabotage, Boycott, strikes and General Strike. They are, therefore, sponsors of direct action.

*(d) In Russia*

After France, we will now discuss the development of socialism in Russia; for in other countries of Europe we find nothing peculiar about Socialism. In the countries which we have discussed, a remarkable change from the original premises of Marx is noticeable. The contribution of England has been the anglicising of socialism by which we mean its conquest by English Caution and Conservatism, and its movement from precedent to precedent. But in France, it has conquered the Frenchman and has played upon his emotion so that it has become more revolutionary, more direct and more partisan. In Germany, however, it has been both evolutionary and revolutionary, but in either case it has been 'nationalised' by the peculiar German ideas of Rodbertus and Lassalle. It is now in Russia that we can study its evolution, for during the war days it assumed great prominence, and in the end succeeded in establishing a truly orthodox regime of Marxian revolutionary socialism. It is this which we associate with Lenin and which we call Bolshevism; for Lenin was not only its philosopher: he was also its chief guide. He did not believe in the sweet 'sugar coated pills' and the 'healing ointment' of reformism for the ills and bleeding wounds of society: he definitely stood for 'bitters' and the 'political surgery' of aggressive action and violent revolution. He was not at all satisfied with a slow, painful and dragging death of Capitalism: he wanted, as we shall just see, its electrocution so that the way be opened for the gradual realization of Communism.

Characteristics of  
the Socialisms of  
England, France  
and Germany.

From the very beginning of his revolutionary career Lenin was an orthodox Marxist, and, therefore, he may be regarded as the best exponent of revolutionary socialism in modern times.

He regards the state as the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms and, therefore, believes that the liberation of the working class is impossi-

(i) State as the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms.

ble not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of State power. The chief apparatus of this oppressive state, no doubt,

is its army and navy, for which taxes and state loans are exacted so that the state proves to be an Instrument for the Exploitation of the oppressed class. The whole state machine is, therefore, to be relegated, in the words of Engels, 'to the museum of antiquities.' This can only be done by

(ii) Violent Revolution.

a violent revolution of the proletariat which 'seizes State power, and then transforms the means of production into state

property. But in doing this, it puts an end to itself as the proletariat, it puts an end to class differences and class antagonisms, it puts an end also to the state as the state.'

The state thus is not abolished, it 'withers away'! Here

(iii) Withering away and Kautsky's gradualism.

Lenin takes to task the Social Democrats like Kautsky whom he styles 'the renegade' for the latter's interpretation of 'withering away' was the development of

Socialism, stage by stage so that there was no necessity of a revolution. Lenin maintains that the bourgeois state is put an end to by the Proletariat revolution and it is the proletarian statehood that will gradually 'wither away.' Thus

in the realization of Socialism there must be two phases of the Communistic Society. In the first, which is Socialism\* proper the remnants of capitalism will be gradually abolished so that the new society will slowly emerge from the old. This new society will be the second or higher phase of Communism

(iv) Two phases of Communism.

\*The term 'Socialism' has been variously used from time to time and therefore it is desirable that we should know the different meanings that have been attached to that term.

(1) In the first place, it stands for the First or Lower phase of Communism, the sense in which it has been used here. The fall of the capitalist will result in the Proletariat state which will gradually do away with the remnants of bourgeoisism. Hence the Final or Higher phase of Communism will be ushered in after the advent of Socialism.

(2) Generally, however, the word is used to connote all those schemes and movements, evolutionary or revolutionary, Utopian or merely based on Trade Unionism, which on the basis of economic principles, want to reconstitute modern society in a way that the glaring inequalities may fade away and social justice may come to prevail. It is in this sense that we use the term 'Socialism' when we talk among us whether we should study 'Socialism' or not. Here our purpose is not to study this school of it or that, but in a general way all that has come to be associated with that movement.

(3) In its most general sense, Socialism may also be used for the power of the Collectivity or society in contradistinction to the freedom or the rights of individual. In this sense, even Plato and Rousseau were socialists. But that is not the accepted sense of the term. It is now generally used, as has been already pointed out, only in the economic sense.

(4) Besides these, Karl Marx himself used the word Socialism for all those Utopian schemes which were prevalent before he laid the foundations of his so-called scientific socialism. Hence the bases of that pre-scientific socialism were more ethical than economic, though the latter element ought not to be neglected.

(5) Lastly, Lenin and other followers of the Third International have also used that term (though derisively) for the policy and Programme that has come to be associated with the Second International. In this sense, it has been regarded as a theory of reformism or gradualism, which wants to usher in the new era through parliamentary action, not revolution. It is dubbed as 'social chauvinism' for, during the Great War it sold away international

in which all the remnants of the bourgeois state will be removed, and of which the motto will come to be '*From each according to his ability: to each according to his needs.*'

After noting these ideas, we may now look into the condition of Russia where these ideas were to be sown and where they were to fructify in the creation of modern Soviet Socialistic Russia. As compared to other countries of Europe, Russia had always been a backward country, its 80 per cent. population being employed in agriculture. It was, therefore, a land of peasants and land proprietors, who are usually slow-going and against all change. Hence in spite of all attempts of westernization by Peter the Great and Catherine II, it was in 1850 still an Asiatic country, having very few industrial establishments and its peasantry still groaning under the hated serfdom. The Czar Alexander II in 1861 passed a decree for their emancipation, but an attempt on his life in 1866 led him to change his policy of reform to one of repression.

But already thinking individuals like Bakunin (1814—76) had been born and were active in attacking social institutions so that from 1860 to 1870 the so-called Nihilists held ground. They were always negative and destructive in their attacks on government, religion and Law, on property and family, and though their ideas could not at once spread among the masses, they got energetic converts.

---

socialism to national patriotism and even after its termination it worked in coalition with bourgeois parties. It, therefore, represents the Great Betrayal as against the Communists who are therefore real Socialists. Communism in this sense represents the orthodox belief, and yet strangely enough, its believers are the Protestants of Socialism.

Thus anarchism as a movement regarded all government an evil and this is why it rejected all external authority. Every industry was to be organized in a free association on the basis of the free consent of the individual and the whole society was to be a federation of these free associations. There was to be no private property in land or in Capital, and this state of things was to be brought about at once by a sudden revolution. There was thus to be no gradualism, or the stage of transition which was the chief point in the political philosophy of Lenin. This is, therefore, also the chief point of difference between Anarchism and Communism. While the former is only negative and destructive, the latter claims to be positive and constructive also. But it must be said in fairness to Anarchism that all its sponsors have not favoured the bomb and the bullet. Tolstoy, for instance, never believed in a doctrine of assassination and though men like Bakunin and Kropotkin had always to remain in exile, Tolstoy always lived in peace and was never disturbed till his very death in 1910.

However, to continue our discussion, in the seventies, the Russian students who had gone to Europe for travel and study became affected with these extreme doctrines and when they were recalled to Russia by the Ukase of 1874, they decided to penetrate into the villages and spread the revolutionary ideas. They were no doubt rounded up and sent to prison, but the chains had been already let loose. The revolutionaries adopted a policy of assassination to which even the Emperor succumbed in 1881. The

Anarchism as a Movement,\*  
Russia from 1870  
and the rise of  
different Unions

---

\* For Anarchism (both individualistic and syndicalistic) see also Laidler—A History of Socialistic Thought, pp. 356-57.

new Czar, Alexander III, therefore, from the very beginning forbade all meetings of workers etc, but besides the organization—‘The will of the People’—which had directed assassinations, there came into being a ‘Society for the Liberation of labour.’ Industrialization having already begun in right earnest, the workers also got constant opportunities of discussing common interests so that by 1895 Lenin founded the ‘Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Classes’ at St. Petersburg.

In 1896, however, the Social Democratic Party came into being, and in 1901 was followed by the social Revolutionary Party which specially appealed to the peasants only. In 1903, a split occurred among the members of the Social Democratic Party for some of them stood for a democratic republic and the summoning of a constituent Assembly, while others wanted no association with the Liberals or the bourgeois class. Thus the former came to be known as Mensheviks, the latter (because they were in a majority) as Bolsheviks. It was this latter group that was led by Lenin.

The defeat of Russia in the War with Japan (1904—5) still more discredited the Monarchy and its associates, and hence there were uprisings throughout Russia, and strikes were organised at many places. The First Duma was called in 1906, but it could not pacify the discontented elements. Hence the Czar Nicholas II adopted stringent measures sending more than 70,000 to jails, and banishing many others from the country. But such repression was of no avail. The ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin, of Tolstoy and Lenin had already taken hold of the people, and though all of them

save Tolstoy were exiles, the movement never abated and the strikes could not be checked. The advent of the Great War, however, did not abate their activities, though they remained repressed because of the extraordinary measures taken against them, but soon the rise of famine led to the demands of bread and peace and hence strikes broke out in St. Petersburg in February, 1917. These let out the pent up and repressed energies and the First Revolution had come. The Czar Nicholas II abdicated.

The Kerensky Government was formed and when the All-Russian Congress of Soviets met in June 1917, Kerensky urged the continuance of war while Lenin and Trotsky were opposed to it. Hence the November Congress of Soviets was called where the Bolsheviks decided to capture the government, and having weaned away the Petrograd garrison, they seized power. Kerensky fled and the Military Revolutionary Committee formed, a Bolshevik government of which Lenin became the president, and Trotsky the Minister of War. This second Revolution created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, for the Soviet Constitution was adopted on July 10, 1918, on the basis of 'All powers to the Soviets,' and the Constituent Assembly was dissolved.

(e) *The Second International, 1889-1914*

Having surveyed the rise and decline of the First International and the consequent rise of the different schools of Socialistic thought in Germany, England, France, and Russia before the coming in of the World War, we may resume the trend of the international character of socialism,

The Second  
International.

for, whatever their differences in methods and principles, socialists never forgot the international mission of their movement. From 1876 to 1912, that is, from the congress of Berne to that of Basle, no less than ten such international gatherings had been called, and it was in the congress of Paris in 1889 that the Second International was established, and since 1900 its permanent Bureau and office were organized in Brussels. It is true, no doubt, that socialism in this era was taking its own course in each land, and was, therefore, advancing on national basis and parliamentarianism, but in 1889 the extremists and moderates had already achieved a patched unity so that till the coming in of the Great War their compromise worked on satisfactorily. They were to meet at Vienna in 1914 when the War intervened, and differences among them were let loose resulting in the death of the Second International.

(f) *The Cooperative Movement*

This then, in brief, was the progress and development of socialistic thought and movement in each land and on the international plane when the Great War

brought about a crisis in the history of that movement. But before I take up Socialism and the Great War, I would also

The Cooperative Movement and its rise and progress in England.

like to give a brief description of the so-called Cooperative movement, which though not socialism proper, has been yet working along with it, specially on the continent. It is an attempt of workers through Consumers' Cooperative societies to build the industrial democracy within the Capitalistic frame work. The first such society known to us was the society of Fenwick Weavers (Scotland, 1769). But the movement got impetus when Owen began

to emphasize associated industry. It was in 1828—30 that the Brighton Society opened a store for business and started 'The Cooperator.' The number of such societies at once swelled, but it was with the Rochdale Experiment of 1843 that the Cooperative Retail Movement got its actual footing. The so-called Rochdale Principles were stated to be:

- (i) that each member should have one vote only;
- (ii) that capital invested in the society was to have a fixed rate of dividends; and
- (iii) the profits, after deducting expenses etc., were to be divided among members.

This experiment was so successful that the Society had its 50 years Jubilee in 1894. Mean-while Cooperatives had been started all over England and in 1869 the 'Cooperative Union' was established for propaganda, protection and education. Besides these Retail Societies, the Cooperative Wholesale society was also organized in 1863 at Manchester, and then Cooperative Factories of various kinds were started. They then began to buy land for tea plantation, etc, on cooperative basis and also began to organize their own Bank which loaned money at times of need. In this way, the Cooperative movement began to include within it the insurance of fire, life, housing and agriculture, the last having the producers also along with the consumers as their members. During the Great War, they called a National Conference and organized a National Cooperative Parliamentary Representation Committee, and they have now several members in the parliament. Like England, the Cooperative

Cooperation on the Continent. But it has been significant only in France; for in Russia the Cooperatives

have now been nationalized and in Italy, they have been substituted by the Corporations. In Germany also, though they were most active before the Hitlerite regime, they have now been 'muzzled.' In France, however, it was Professor Charles Gide who started 'Cooperation' in right earnest and in 1912 it coalesced with the Socialists so that by 1920 it was in the most prosperous condition, and has been continuously progressing ever since.

## VI. Socialism and the Great War, 1914—1918

After this brief account of 'Cooperation' I now take up the Great War and Socialism. On the murder of the crown prince of Austria at Sarajevo and the consequent ultimatum of Austria to Serbia, all socialist parties were against war; and their international congresses already suggested the use of General strike internationally. But when the Austrian socialists decided to support the government, the German Socialists also followed suit, and the French Socialists did likewise. In the meantime, Germany declared war against Belgium, and the English Socialists agreed to vote for the War Credits; so that in all lands nationalism was put before socialism. But this support to governments does not mean that there was no division among socialist ranks. The extremists among them were certainly against war so that there came to be a split among them. While the neutral socialists met at Copenhagen in January 1915 to impress the necessity of peace, the extremists decided to meet at Zimmerwald in Switzerland in September 1915, while the Brussels Bureau was shifted to Holland. A permanent International Socialist Association was established

- Socialism during  
the Great War.

under the leadership of Lenin, and later on it came to be the basis of the future Third International.

In the beginning, as we have seen, the German socialists had decided to go with the Government in their War Policy, but by 1915 a minority among them began to move for peace.

War and split among German Socialists, and the declaration of the Republic.

In 1916 the Socialist Democratic Party suffered a split and the minority formed the Independent Socialist Party. The Social Democrats, while they stood for national defence, were against conquests, and hence the Government tried to placate their opinion by agreeing to democratic reform. By 1918 the situation has become intolerable for the Government, and William II fled to Holland. The Republic was proclaimed. The Social Democratic Party and the Independents joined hands to form the Cabinet, but the Communistic wing remained aloof in sullen silence.

In France too, a minority among Socialists had come into being, which demanded peace, and the left wing among them definitely condemned war. These two minority socialist groups soon gained ground, and by 1917 no socialist was to be found within the Cabinet.

War and the split among French Socialists.

In England, however, the Socialists remained with the Government, though there were pacifists like MacDonald who were from the very beginning opposed to War. In 1917, they drew up their War programme in which the creation of the League of Nations, of the Permanent Court, of acceptance of arbitration and disarmament and self-determination of Belgium and Alsace and Lorraine were among the chief demands.

The English Socialists continue helping the Government.

Similarly, in Austria also the Socialists now got sick of the war and they also began to press for peace while in Russia, the Socialists had already come in power. In this way, in nearly all belligerent countries there were either movements for peace or definite refusal of war credits by socialists. But fortunately for the world, U.S.A. had now flung itself in world affairs, and on the basis of Wilson's 'fourteen points' the armistice was signed by Germany; Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria having already sued for peace. The war was thus over but it shook the very foundations of international socialism for nationalism was everywhere placed before Socialism.

## VII. Socialism in the post-war World, 1918—1937

### (a) *The Third International, 1919.*

We have already seen, how the Second International had worked in a spirit of compromise from 1889 to the Great War and how in 1915 the Extremists had separated themselves and created the Zimmerwald Association. This revolutionary minority in 1919 decided to create a Third International as distinct and separate from the Second International and hence began to call it the Communist International.

Since its establishment it has held its conferences nearly every year at Moscow, and has been doing its best to popularize its cult throughout the world. That cult is no longer based on the Communist Manifesto of 1848. It has been further expanded in the light of the modern developments of the Capitalistic Society and has now yielded place

to the Programme of the Communist International (drawn up in 1928). It is this Programme which now forms the basis of all Communistic parties and propaganda in the various countries of the world.\*

(b) *The Labour and Socialist International of 1923.*

Besides this extremist section of the Socialists who had founded the Communist International, there were also other Socialists who were neither as moderate as the Parliamentary Socialists of the Second International, nor as revolutionary as the Communists of the Third. They, too, decided to meet in 1920 at Vienna and created the so-called Vienna International. But soon attempts at Socialist unity were set on foot (1922), but the communists would not agree. Hence in 1923 the two others agreed to create the 'Labour and Socialist International'. Since its central organization, the Congress meets every third year, though conferences may

The Vienna International and after.

\* So far as India is concerned, most of the so-called political and nationalistic ideas of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, which the readers would find summarized in the coming pages in connection with his 'Presidential Addresses,' seem to me to be the ideas of this latest phase of Russian Communism and, therefore, I am inclined to think that he is no more than the mouth-piece of Sovietism in India. His emphasis on 'Complete Independence' and 'Constituent Assembly' is not so much a part of Nationalism as it is of Socialism. Similarly his declarations against 'acceptance of Office,' his pronouncements on 'legislatures' as 'toddy' shops, useful only for wrecking the constitution rather than working it, his remarks against 'landlordism' and 'feudal states' and on the cancellation of 'state debts,' and his endeavours for establishing 'mass contacts'—all represent 'His Master's Voice in India.' It is true his silence on and commendation of 'Office Acceptance' (Wardha Resolution, July, '37) and his strong justification of the use of force against the Cawnpore strikers (August, '37) would not be liked by the Orthodox Socialists (or Communists), but they are, as will be shown later on, part and parcel of his philosophy of life which I have preferred to call 'Nehruism.'

be called and are called according to the situations. In 1929, a London Conference of these parties condemned Armaments, militarism and the Fascist reaction in unequivocal terms and pleaded for the carrying forward of disarmament and of eight hour agreement and the establishment of a full fledged Democracy and Socialism.

Having discussed the rise and fall of Socialism in important European countries before and during the Great War, and its development on the international plane as exhibited by the Internationals, let us now again resume the thread of Socialism in each country in the post-war world, for now Socialism was no longer a mere critical force outside the government: it even assumed the reins of government. To begin with Germany.

### (c) *Socialism in Germany.*

On the establishment of the Republic, the Weimer Constitution was drawn up, but it was not modelled on the Soviet plan. It was one of the most democratic constitutions of the world, though the Economic Council was the standing monument of Socialist influence. The social Democrats and the Independents no doubt joined hands but they were not strong enough to rule without bourgeois elements. In fact, in 1920, a monarchist coup would have shattered all hopes had not a general strike by the trade Unions saved the situation. Thus to maintain their position, the socialists always worked in coalition with other parties. But from 1930 the elections disclosed the rise of Fascists who grew so much in influence that in 1933 their leader Hitler became the Chancellor and on the death of Hindenburg, the President of Germany also.

Since then the Weimer Constitution has been displaced by an authoritarian state and all socialist activities have been stifled so that Nazism stands dominant in that land. The Nazis call themselves 'National Socialists,' but, in fact, they are far flung from Socialism, for in them we find the Collectivism of Socialism married to the Absolutism of Hegelianism and the issue is Nazism which has found its unity not in the German Emperor, but in the 'Leader' or the Dictator. Thus Hampden Jackson is

Comparison of Fascism and Communism. led to draw a fine comparison between Fascism and Communism in the following words. On the points of agreement he

says:

- (a) "Both systems have abandoned the vote-counting method of ascertaining the will of the people.
- (b) Both rely on the *volonte generale* as interpreted by a party of devotees.
- (c) Both have forbidden the open discussion of political principles and allow criticism only of ways and means.
- (d) Both have subordinated the aim of individual development to the aim of community development."

On the points of difference he says:

- (i) "Economic inequality is thought natural and necessary by Fascists, by Communists it is thought unnatural and unnecessary.
- (ii) Fascists put the purity of the race before everything else; Communists welcome race distinctions.

(iii) Fascists believe in the political and economic subordination of women to men; Communists believe in the equality of the sexes. According to Hitler the place of women is in the kitchen, the nursery and the Church; according to Lenin "petty house-keeping oppresses, dulls, humiliates women, chaining them to the kitchen and the nursery, wasting their labour by work which is brutally unproductive, petty, stupefyingly nerve-wracking, oppressive—and so we find that while Fascism tightens the marriage bonds, Communism makes marriage a mere matter of registration and grants divorce at the will of either party.

(iv) To Fascists the State is an end in itself; to Communists it is merely a means of purging society of class inequality—when this has been done the State as an instrument of coercion will no longer be needed.

(v) Fascists recognize that there is room for a transcendental religion outside Fascism; the Communists have always believed, if not in the persecution of religion, at least in decrying it."

(d) *Socialism in France.*

In the Post-War France also, we do not find the Socialists united. Three parties had already made their appearance by 1921. The French Communist Party was the extremist wing and the Unified Socialist Party represented the Right among

In France.

them, and the French Socialist Party was a third so that the group character of French political system has not saved even Socialism which therefore remains divided in that land. The socialist groups have always given their adhesion to this government or that, but because of their differences, have never been able to create a purely socialistic government.

(e) *Socialism in England.*

In England during the war, a Coalition government had been organized as the socialists also wanted actively to help the Government, but in the elections of 1918 they found themselves discredited, for men like MacDonald, because of their pacifism, had already been dubbed as traitors to the country.

Nevertheless, in 1918, the British Labour Party for the first time promulgated its Socialistic Programme in its 'Labour and the New Social Order.' It emphatically declared that after the war what was going to be reconstructed was not simply a government department nor this or that piece of social machinery, but the English Society itself. The private ownership of land and capital, the reckless profiteering, the glaring inequalities, the enforced domination over subject peoples, classes and sex must be replaced by a 'new social Order' which must have all the blessings of a real democracy—a system based on fraternity, planned Co-operation in production and distribution, and the freedom of sex, equality in social life and the development of free institutions. Hence its four 'pillars' of reconstruction were to be:—

(1) *The universal Enforcement of the National Minimum*, that is, ensuring to each individual leisure,

health, education and subsistence. These would require minimum wage legislation, better provision for education and health, unemployment insurance and systematic planning of public works.

(2) *The Democratic Control of Industry*. This would mean the immediate nationalization of mines, railways and electrical power etc.

(3) *A Revolution in National Finance* and the paying off of the war debt by the imposition of income and inheritance taxes.

(4) *Surplus wealth for the common good* including the care of education, art and literature and scientific research, besides other provisions for the sick and the needy.

In 1922 Labour gained its lost ground and in 1924 it formed the Government, though of course it was a Minority

Government. It could not last long because Labour form the Govern- twice  
ment.

it had entered into a treaty with Russia—a political untouchable. Again, in 1929, it found opportunity to form its second Minority Government, but again it could not withstand the Great Economic Depression, and Mr. MacDonald himself killed it. The General Election brought in a National (Coalition) Government with strong conservative majority so that Labour again suffered a shock at a time when it had boldly drawn up a well thought out programme (1929) covering not merely industrial legislation, unemployment, development of trade and industry, agriculture and rural life, and the social services but also education, the care of children, a financial policy, international peace and cooperation, the closest co-operation in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the establishment of a full fledged political democracy including

even the autonomy of Wales, Scotland and England. This Labour Programme of 1929 which may with justice be called the 'Second Labour Charter,' thus stood for the following reforms :

The Second  
Labour Charter of  
1929

(1) In Industrial legislation, the restoration of Trade union right, the establishment of a 48 hour week, the improvement of factory, mines, workmen's Compensation and minimum wage Acts, and the enforcement of international labour standards.

(2) For unemployment, provision for unemployed workers, the extension of insurance to all classes of workers, the withdrawal from labour market of children under 15 with maintenance allowances, the improvement of provisions for widows and orphans, the repeal of Eight-hour Acts in coal industry and the establishment of a superannuation scheme for aged miners.

(3) For the development of industry and trade, the establishment of a National Economic Committee and of a National Development and Employment Board, the Control of the Bank of England by a public Corporation, the encouragement of Cooperation and Municipal banking and the promotion of an international conference for an international agreement on the value of gold. Besides these, also the transference to public ownership of the coal, transport power and life insurance industries, the appointment of a Commission for the reconstruction of cotton industry, the promotion of scientific research for improvement of industrial technique and the extension of the powers of the Economic Section of the League of Nations.

(4) In agriculture and rural life, the transference of land to public ownership, security of tenure to farmers,

provision of easy credits, establishment of electrical power in rural areas, improvement of health, housing and education in rural areas and the improvement of fishing industry.

(5) For the development of social services, cottage homes for the aged, check on building materials, adequate supply of houses for workers at rents within the means of workers, extension of regional and town planning, provision of medical care after child birth and improvement of the school medical service.

(6) For education and the care of childhood, a democratic system of education free from class bias, provision for physical well being of children, the extension of school meals, provision of books on a generous scale and the development of education in such a way as to secure primary education for all children upto 11 and free Secondary education for all children above that age and the establishment of easy access to and financial provision for Universities.

(7) In Financial policy, progressive reduction of expenditure on armaments, abolition of taxes on necessities of life, increase of death duties on large estates, taxation of land values and graduation of income-tax in such a way as to relieve the smaller and increase the contribution from larger incomes.

(8) For International peace and Cooperation, renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy and negotiation of international agreements through the League, reduction of armaments, opposition to compulsory military service, acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable disputes and the promotion of international economic cooperation.

(9) Regarding the British Commonwealth of Nations, establishment of complete equality of Britain with

Dominions, the recognition of the right of the Indian people to self government and self determination and the admission of India to the British Commonwealth of Nations on an equal footing with the self governing Dominions, the establishment of safeguards against the exploitation of indigenous peoples by European capital, the strengthening and extension of the authority of the Mandates Commission and the development of the economic resources of the Commonwealth.

(10) Lastly, in political democracy, resistance to the establishment of a second chamber, abolition of plural voting, establishment of civil and political rights for civil servants, drastic legislation against corrupt practices at election and the creation of separate legislative assemblies in Scotland, Wales and England with autonomous powers in matters of local concern.

I have given these provisions of 'labour charters' in detail so that we may be able to gauge the progressive socialistic thought in England till our own times,\* for, though there is an insignificant Communist Minority in that country,

---

\* The latest reports published in the Papers of March 4, 1937 give a 'ten point programme' of English Labour which it will carry through in its five year term of office. The full details have not yet been published, but the Daily Herald has disclosed the following points:—

'Reaffirmation of the Party's Peace Policy based on the League of Nations; adequate Defence Forces for Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations; Pledged for the next Labour Government's securing the public ownership of the Bank of England; the establishment of a National Investment Board to make the best use of the nations' savings, public control of rail, road, air and coastal shipping transport; public ownership of the operation of railways; public ownership of coal industry and gas and electricity services; effective powers for the State and local authorities to acquire land at a fair price being paid for all property transferred to public ownership; shorter working week; statutory holdings with pay and good wages in all publicly owned industries.'

its characteristic socialism has been throughout evolutionary and to this feature, whatever its present position in the country, it holds fast even to this day.

Thus in the post-war world though socialism began well specially in Germany and England, it ended miserably, and in spite of having found opportunities of forming governments it could not withstand the shock of world events which seem to have shattered its very foundations. The real theatre of socialist or Communistic activity has, therefore, been Russia and it is to it that we now turn.

(f) *Socialism in Russia.*

(1) In the Constitution of 1918, the first article abolished private property in land and declared it to be national property. Hence also all forests, treasures of earth, and waters of general public utility, model farms and agricultural enterprises were declared national property. All banks, factories, mines, mills and railways were also to be nationalised. There was a compulsory obligation on all to work for the common good.

The Russian  
Constitution  
1918.

(2) The dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was to be established by abolishing the exploitation of man by man. Every citizen, man or woman, who had completed his 18th year and was doing work had a right to vote.

(3) The basis of representation was functional and geographical, each village electing its own 'soviet' and its executive committee for administrative purposes. Representatives from 'village soviets' were sent to the 'district soviets,' and from the latter to the 'provincial soviet.' The supreme authority was to be the 'The All-Union Congress

of Soviets' but power was to be exercised by the Central Executive Committee consisting of the Council of the Union and the Council of the Nationalities. The Congress was to meet once a year, the Executive Committee four times a year. During their absence, the Presidium of the Committee (having nearly six Chairmen) was to act as the supreme power in the land in all matters whatever, the executive of the Central Executive Committee was to be the Council of People's Commissars.

(4) The Commissariats are the different Departments of administration and concern the central Government, the member Republics and both.

But all the items of this constitution were not to be at once established. The transition to the full establishment of socialism was to take a long time. Hence in the beginning in the period known as the Period of Workers Control (from November Revolution to 1918), after initial confiscations, they tried to regulate and control the industries, but in the so-called period of Military Communion (1918—26) nationalisation of industries began to make sufficient headway. The New Economic Policy was put into operation in 1921 and trusts and syndicates organized so that by 1926 decentralization in management had been accomplished. The constitution of U.S.S.R. was also slightly modified in 1923.

In 1924 Lenin died and he wanted to be succeeded by Trotsky, but Stalin so managed matters that the power of Trotsky's supporters was broken and he was exiled in 1928. In this year was launched the famous 5-year plan which has certainly transformed Russia from an agricultural country

The New Economic Policy.

The Coming of Stalin.

to an industrial one, and already the Second 5-year plan is in progress which is meant to end the transitional period of half-communism in favour of the establishment of the higher phase of Communism. After the war, they had found Russia a financially ruined and bankrupt country, but now it has a surplus which it utilises in the further development of industries. The 1923 (amended) Constitution has now also been changed for the Draft Constitution of 1936\* and it was adopted by the 8th Special Congress of Soviets on December 5, 1936 so that new steps are being taken for its promulgation.

Between 1924 and 1936, therefore

Soviet Russia has progressively advanced  
Soviet Russia  
between 1924—1936. towards its ideal of Communism and we  
 can mark that progress as stated below :

- (i) The New Economic Policy of 1924 being in its last phase, the little revival of Capitalism under it has now been met with its complete liquidation in all spheres of national economy.
- (ii) Small individual peasant holdings have been replaced by Collective farms, for industry has already been nationalised. Thus the so-called proletariat does no longer exist in Russia and in the words of Stalin himself 'the soviet working class is a new class.' Hence the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia are all going to form a new classless socialistic society.

---

\* In the end of this Lecture, the first two Appendices dealing with the soviet Constitutions of 1918 and 1936 have been provided to give to the readers an opportunity of comparing the advance of Socialism in Russia to the present day.

Thus the First or Lower Phase of Communism has nearly been achieved and its basic principle has been '*from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour.*' Now under the New Constitution, the Society will move towards the higher form of Communism of which the basic principle will be '*from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.*'

The new constitution certainly marks a great democratic advance\* towards a classless society; its introduction of a Parliament consisting of two houses must be regarded as the most significant constitutional change since 1918. Shall we, therefore, be far wrong if we say that in its march towards democracy Russia too is going to settle down with some form of Parliamentary type of government? Its present progress seems to me to be towards a Collectivist type of state as it was envisaged by the Fabians, the only difference being the method of achieving it, for, in the Russian case, *the Fabian Process seems to have been reversed*, that is, to put it more clearly, *the Fabians also wanted to nationalise the instruments of production, but it was through the peaceful Parliamentary method of gradualness. The Russians have first nationalized*

---

\* The latest news about the Communist Party of Russia published in the Papers of March 8, 1937 refers to the 'democratization' of the whole structure, for a resolution to this effect has been accepted by the Central Committee of the Party at its plenary session. 'The Party has decided that while adopting the leading role during the forth-coming elections to the All-Russian Soviet under the new constitution, the Party must bring itself into line with democratic practices. As a result, individual members will be called on to make more free use of their right to criticize. Candidates for membership of all Party Committees will be henceforth elected by secret ballot instead of being co-opted. The ballot will be enforced by all Party organizations from factory committees to the central committees of the National Republic.'

*the instruments of production by the revolutionary method and are then moving towards a Parliamentary form of Government.* What the next stage will be, of course, none can foretell, but we do hope that Russia will also settle under the liberal democratic institutions with a classless society of its own. But if it still further successfully moves on to a stage in which the Government itself will wither away, the world, of course, will look with eager eyes and great expectations!

But before we finish this account of Soviet Russia, we may also look into some of the ideas of Stalin who, like  
Stalin and  
 Leninism.
 Mussolini and Hitler, holds all Russia in fee and is the sole Dictator in that country.

Have we not been hearing in recent months that he is vigorously carrying on a policy of 'purging?' This purging is the secret of his success as well as of his stability today. However, in 1924, he lectured on *Leninism*, and defined it as "*the Marxism of the epoch of Imperialism, and of the proletarian revolution*" so that he also calls the Socialists of the Second International as mere opportunists, and therefore stands for the Party of Lenin—a military party and a revolutionary party bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power and not wasting its time and energies in the 'tailism' or gradualism of the Labour and Social Democratic Parties of the pre-war period.

This new party is thus to be, firstly the *vanguard* of the working classes, absorbing their experience, their revolutionary spirit and their devotion to the  
Stalin's idea of  
 the Party.
 cause of the proletariat. Secondly, it should be the *Organized Detachment* of the working class, so that it may lead it to victory, save it from hostile attacks, and must therefore emphasize discipline,

perseverance and organization. Thirdly, it is to be *the highest form of the class organization* of the Proletariat. Fourthly, it is to be *the weapon of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. It is the chief leading element for the achievement, consolidation and extension of the dictatorship to attain complete victory for Socialism. Lastly, therefore, the party is to be the expression of the *unity of will*, which is incompatible with the existence of factions. Hence it is strengthened by 'purging' itself of opportunist elements.

Besides this, he has also given us the Socialist conception of Equality in classless society. By equality, therefore,

is meant not equality in personal belongings and requirements but the abolition of classes. It thus aspires for (i) *the equal emancipation of all workers* from exploitation, after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (ii) *the equal abolition, for all, of private property* in the means of production, after they have been transformed into the property of the whole Community; (iii) *the equal duty of all to work according to their capacity and the equal right of all workers to receive according to the amount of work they have done* (in the first or lower phase of Communism, i.e., the Socialist society); (iv) *the equal duty of all to work according to their capacity and the equal right of all workers to receive according to their needs* (in the second or higher phase of Communism.)

Thus with such methods and principles Orthodox Socialism has made its conquests in Russia and has established its domain in that land. As against all other European countries where Socialism has been a political party, often in minority, the Russian Socialism, or

Stalin's idea of the marxian conception of Equality.

The Russian Orthodox Socialism and National Socialism.

Communism as it is called, has turned itself from a minority into a majority and today it claims to be transforming the old order of classes and inequalities into one of equality and complete social justice. But if the social democracy of Russia has achieved all this the bourgeois democracy has not been slow to meet it on its own grounds. The Syndicalist idea of a minority that could make great changes has been taken up in Italy and Germany also and in both countries Fascism and Nazism are strong Minority parties ruling those countries, and Mussolini and Hitler are acting as Dictators just as Lenin acted as a Dictator, and Stalin himself is acting as a Dictator. Thus National Socialism has been organized to meet the international revolutionary socialism and it has already achieved success by suppressing it. In this way, in Germany specially, Hegelianism has been married to Leninism and has produced the ghost of Nazism.

But it must be remembered that *the methods applied* in bringing about their present order were not extraordinary or peculiar to Communism. In fact, I see in

Synthesis of  
Socialist Experience.

them a synthesis of the experiences of Socialism as they were progressively witnessed in other lands. It is true, no doubt, that even Lenin was against "a purely insurrectionary theory" of revolution of "a revolutionary coup d'etat," but still the forces that worked from the very beginning were such that *the anarchist methods of bomb and bullet* could never be lost sight of. Was it ever possible that Bakunin's own theories should be applied on the continent by all so-called Anarchists, and that they be lost sight of in his own land? Hence the beginning of the Russian Revolution came with *anarchist terrorist* methods, which were, however, tempered by the

great energy and far-sightedness of Lenin. 'Thus the *Fabian method of 'wait and strike at the proper moment'* remained the chief point of guidance before Lenin. As Mr. Cole has stated, 'there had been talk of a Bolshevik Revolution earlier in the year, especially in July. But Lenin had been firm in urging the Party to hold its hand *until the conditions of success were present*, that is to say, *until the Revolution could be made under such circumstances as would place the Bolsheviks at the head of a widespread movement among the mass of the population.*' Such a moment came in October, and the party was successful in striking hard.

Secondly, after the Anarchist stratagem, this Fabian method, was to be applied *in the Syndicalist way*. The Syndicalists had emphasised two points in their movement—that the workers should act as the deliverers of the whole, and that the act of deliverance could only be the work of a minority. Both these points were never forgotten by Lenin for the Bolshevik Revolution was based on two forces—'a strong disciplined party bound together by a common ideology and a common body of revolutionary strategy, and an organized mass movement based upon the workers and capable of being brought under the leadership of the far smaller party.'

Thirdly, after the anarchist beginning, and the Fabian method of striking through Syndicalist *manouvers*, the transition to the coming society was to be organised on the *functional or professional basis* and in the hierarchical fashion the way to which had been shown by Mr. Cole's 'Guild Socialism Restated' and hence after the termination of the period of Workers' Control and Military Communism, the Constitutions of 1918 and of July 1923, were to have

this pyramidal Soviet Organization based on Guild Socialism.

Fourthly, besides these experiences, the German Social Democratic experience of combining Democracy with Socialism, a method which had produced the Weimer Constitution with its Economic Council and other most advanced democratic devices, was also not to be lost sight of and hence with this pyramidal organization of government there were to exist the Supreme Council of National Economy and State Planning Commission.

If there was not that freedom of thought, belief and discussion in Russia even in 1923, which was to be found in democratic countries, it was because of the transitional character of its Society, but the right to franchise had been given to every man and woman of eighteen. But now experience has shown the way to the freedom of belief\* and in the New

Freedom of  
thought in Russia.

---

\* It is now being contended that Soviet Russia has never officially been against God or against Religion, though the Communist leaders have all been atheists. Even Hampden Jackson puts forth the following defence of the Russian religious policy when he says 'This does not mean that they have persecuted religion; no case has been discovered of a priest or any one else being punished for the *practice* of religion. But they punished the *organization* of religion, feeling obliged to dissolve the Churches which had so often thought that God was on the side of big fortunes. The Communists insisted that the Orthodox, Sectarian, Moslem and other Churches in the Soviet Union should confine their activities to *strictly religious functions*. They allow no public money for priests' salaries or for *religious education*; they confiscated church property or forbade *church social activities and moral teaching*. At first their attacks were confined to the Orthodox Church of which the Czar had been the head upon earth and which had identified itself with the Czarist social system. They pulled down the *Temple of the Saviour in Moscow* to make room for a Palace of the Soviets (though by 1923 not two churches in a hundred had closed down and the Russian people were still insisting on the rites of Church baptism, marriage and burial). Later they feel obliged to attack the Protestant sects and by a law of 1929 *denied them*

Constitution of 1936, the way to different kinds of liberties has also been opened.

Lastly, we will find that even the experiences of purely democratic countries have not been ignored for the Union

*liberty of propaganda and forbade all religious activities except that of divine worship. The result has been that organised religion in the Soviet Union has, excepting the Moslem districts, died a sudden death. Soviet festivals have taken the place of the feasts of the Church, the Communist Party has taken the place of the priesthood as the moral authority in the country and in the great surge of the revolutionary years the names of Christ and the Prophet have been little heard upon the lips of Russians.'*

After this, Mr. Jackson goes on to state that Moslems still turn to Mecca and go for pilgrimage (a statement which I have quoted elsewhere in this lecture) and in the end states '*It is poor criticism of the Soviets that interprets this crusade against the churches as a crusade against God.*'

I have quoted this statement at length so that the readers may themselves judge as to how far really it is 'poor criticism' against the Soviets to say that they are and have been anti-God and anti-religion or how far it is a 'poor defence' of Mr. Jackson of actions and policy which speak for themselves, and which therefore need no comment.

Besides this, we find other statements also in favour of Soviet official toleration. Thus it is stated that from 1917 to 1929 the constitution provided for the free profession of all religions in the Soviet Union, and in 1929 'with the aim of ensuring real freedom of conscience for the workers, freedom of religious worship and anti-religious propaganda' was also permitted and now the new constitution of 1936 guarantees perfect freedom of speech and profession and practice of religion.

As against such statements, the following points may be easily noted:

(1) That the Old and New Testaments of Socialism (i.e., the Communist manifesto of 1848 and the Programme of 1929) have not only regarded religion as the 'opium of the people,' they have preached a *ceaseless propaganda* both against the profession and practice of religion, not to speak of its *organisation*. But can associations work without organisation, and therefore can religion be practised and professed without any organisation?

What would be the meaning of freedom of thought if freedom of expression is not allowed? Let every one read Mill if he wants to know how man is (morally) killed without the external manifestations of his inner self.

itself is a *Federal form of government* of which the model has been taken from the U.S.A., for its Council of the Union

(2) That the development of anti-religionism and anti-God movement in Russia has been by stages :

- i. It began with the destruction of churches, confiscation of their properties and the abolition of ecclesiastical schools. Hence though on paper profession of religion was free, its practice was made impossible and propaganda disallowed.
- ii. No instruction in religion could be given to individuals below 18 years of age. Does not this take away all freedom of conscience and belief that was given by the Constitution?
- iii. Besides this policy of obstruction in the practice and organisation of religion, the 'Council of Peoples' Commissars in 1932 undertook a big and bold move against God Himself. The 'Anti-God 5-year Plan' was launched with the object of not leaving 'a single house of prayer in the territory of U.S.S.R., and to extinguish in the minds of the people the very notion of God.' This movement might not have been actively supported by the Soviet central authorities, but this does not mean that it had not even their moral support behind it. We are inclined to think that because of their 'Testaments' they must have given every encouragement, for their taking of Statistics of God-believing people (which we have noted below) shows that they were not mere silent spectators of all this *tamášha*. They were fully interested in it.
- iv. Last year, a questionnaire was issued to the Soviet army so that an idea may be formed of the strength of 'God idea on human minds and specially so over Russian citizens. The result was that 70 per cent of the soldiers declared for God. This gave a definite set-back to the anti-God movement. Now statistically also, it is proved that this hopeless unnecessary attempt against God is gradually giving way. An official statement mentions that membership of the militant Godless League has fallen from five millions in 1933 to below two millions, and many anti-religious organisations are threatened with disruption. In the provinces, five anti-religious museums have already been closed and anti-religious propaganda has abated.

From these stages we can see how in spite of the constitution of 1918 hostility to religion and God developed step by step till in

is just like the House of Representatives and the Council of Nationalities like the Senate.

### VIII. Socialism in India.

After this survey of Socialism in Europe, I would now turn to Socialism in India. I would have taken up U.S.A.\*

No Discussion of  
Socialism in  
U.S.A., China and  
Japan in this  
lecture.

also for I do not want to ignore the American Continent, but as there is nothing significant in it from the point of view of political theory, I do not want to repeat

1935 it proved to be a vain attempt. However, though even the new constitution of 1936 guarantees perfect freedom of profession and practice of religion, we have yet to see how the policy of Soviet Russia in future develops, for anti-religionism is inseparably involved with orthodox Socialism (because of its Old and New Testaments) and anti-religionism must include anti-Godism for a religion without the conception of God is a mere superstition or, at the most, a social custom. It is, therefore, very necessary for Orthodox Socialist leaders of all lands to declare clearly as to their policy towards religion and God. It is only then that people believing in God and religion can think of taking part in their movement, otherwise they must oppose it to the best of their powers. Already, the secularizing of education has wrought havoc in men's morals and political opinions. Hence religious people have more strongly come to believe in the religionising of education. How can all this be reconciled with Godless and irreligious Socialism?

\* We may, however, note what has now been published by the Papers of March 5 and 6, 1937 as Labour's Greatest Victory in that land, a Victory which is being hailed as the greatest in 50 years. It is the achievement of *Higher Wages and Shorter Hours* in Steel industry, that is, a 40-hour week and a daily wage of 5 dollars. The wage increases are expected to raise the pay rolls of 550,000 workers to 150000000 dollars a year.

This decision by the Six Steel Companies (including the Carnegie-Illinois Corporation which is the biggest concern and the Bethlehem Co, which is U.S.A.'s largest second producer) has saved the country from the paralysing steel strike which was being threatened by the Labour Federation, and has brought the entire Steel Industry in conformity with the Walse Healey which stimulates a 40-hour week in factories accepting Government contracts.

what we have already seen in other countries.† I am ignoring China and Japan because the Communistic activities in the former, though they were at great heights only a few years ago, are now at a low ebb and in the latter they are nearly insignificant so that my centre of attention now is my own country.

India like Russia has always been an agricultural country, and the vast masses have always been living in villages. In fact, City life has developed

India.

to an appreciable extent under British administration because of the development of the amenities of life which are the results of Western science. Hence, in our country the Kisan and the Zamindar have been the chief classes connected with land and it is only in recent times that we have developed the trade Unionism of the Working class for our industries are few, and whatever there are, they are still in infancy. Hence Capitalism, too, is within its 'teens' in this country.

Hence from the point of view of the political speculation of the 'Communist Manifesto' of 1848 which had expected the rise of Workers' Socialism in Germany of those days because it was more industrialised than any other European country, our country is still quite unsuited for the success of that movement. But as we have already seen, that hope

Communist  
Manifesto and  
Russia and India.

---

† Similarly I am ignoring Socialism in Spain for there has been nothing significant in that country about that movement. It is only the recent civil War that has attracted attention towards it, for its prolongation has made it a 'Miniature' international War, and it has come to be regarded as the decisive factor in the development of European politics in the future as the two great forces of the times—Socialism and Fascism—are at grip and the whole world is witnessing the drama both with hope and despair—hope for the success of democracy and despair for the triumph of autocracy.

of the Manifesto was falsified by the backward and agricultural Russia so that in India also the idea is gaining ground that as this country resembles Russia in many respects Socialism may come here as easily as it has come in that country.

Points in favour  
and of difficulty in  
India.

What conditions are those, one may ask, which may favour or retard the advent of Socialism in our country?

(1) In the first place, Russia by itself is a sort of sub-continent spreading on both sides of the Ural Mountains with a population of 16 crores. *The length and breadth of India, therefore, is no disqualification, even though its population is 35 crores.* The huge and thick population in India, rather than it be a disadvantage, is an advantage; for while in Russia because of sparsely populated areas Socialism took time to spread, in India it would easily spread like wild fire.

(2) If Russia is a predominantly agricultural country, eighty per cent of its people being in villages, *so is India where too the vast masses live in villages.* "It seemed altogether contrary to the anticipated course of evolution that Socialism should come first in a country where the vast majority of the people were peasants living on the land at a very low standard of life, where the number of industrial workers was insignificant, and there had been no prior evolution in the direction of Socialism under the Capitalistic system." So, the belief is gaining ground, that if in spite of these limitations it could be successful in Russia, why should it not be successful in India, whatever the extent of such limitations? Hence just as those in Russia who held that political democracy must come first than social democracy were falsified in their hopes, in India also the champions of

political democracy would be similarly disillusioned. And if in Russia the forces of reaction as represented by the Royalty and its nobility and land-owning classes could be ultimately conquered can they not be conquered in India also, for here too we have to fight the British Government, the Native States and the land-lords?

(3) *If in spite of many races, an infinity of languages and five or six religions Socialism could develop in Russia, why should it not develop in India in nearly the same conditions?* If instruction in Russia can be given in 50 languages, why can it not be given in India also in a number of languages?

(4) Russia had always been under an autocratic system of government and hence it accepted without murmur the dictatorship of the Proletariat; *India*, too, perhaps *always* had a greater genius of accepting absolutism. Why should its people then not agree to a similar dictatorship of the Proletariat?

(5) If the Russian 'Mir' provided an excellent basis of Communal Cooperation for a reconstruction of Society, will not *the Indian Village with its Panchayat do the same?* Our village autonomy has been proverbial for no conqueror has touched it. Even the Turkish Conquerors who made India their home never touched it and similarly the Britishers, in fact, have kept it unchanged as the basis of their superstructure, so that the Indian Village autonomy has played an undisturbed part in Indian social and political life.

(6) *The poverty of Indian masses is as glaring as it was in Russia*, but one redeeming feature in India is that while Russia lacked in Capital and a surplus of food, *India*, because of its fertility, *can supply food adequately and if*

its industries and manufactures be well organized, it may give even adequate capital. Lastly, a policy of national economy, as it has been followed in Russia from after the establishment of the Soviet regime, may also do much in India if the top-heavy administration be lightened and the pays of the Civil servants both Indians and foreigners, be reduced, and their various allowances cut down.\*

Thus, from this analysis, it becomes clear to us that the rising Socialist in this country is *more hopeful than despondent* in the success of his mission. But *is he justified in such a hope which to many of us seems to be hoping against hope? Are the existing conditions in the country such that may give him a large following?* Certainly, there are certain facts, psychological as well as real, that are favouring the daily growth in socialist numbers.

In the first place, *there is that psychological reaction* in the mind of the whole nation which the late Prof. Graham

Wallas termed as *a reaction of being 'unfree' and of having been 'wronged.'* Mahatma Gandhi when he led his Movement emphasized the Jallianwala Bagh and the Khilafat Wrong and in spite of twice leading the

Causes of the growth of Socialist numbers.

---

\* The Congress having been successful in provincial elections (held in February 1937) is already contemplating such measures. It is against annual hill-exodus, it has declared for the reduction of the salaries of ministers and it stands at present for a ten per cent. cut in the pays of civil servants.

*Note.*—With the acceptance of office by Congressmen themselves in July 1937, they have already decided to fix Rs. 500/- per mensem as the pay of a minister and are contemplating a greater cut in the pay of all Civil servants in the near future. In this way a full-fledged 'Sattoo' (gram flour) policy will be gradually inaugurated—providing food to the unemployed, the peasants and the workers and reducing the luxury of the rich and bringing them to the level of their poorer and unfortunate brethren.

country through a policy of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience, could not achieve the promised 'swaraj in one year' even in 17 years. This defeat has led to suggest that *that "broken reed"* would be of no avail now. Something more fiery, more active, more militant, more aggressive, and more intensive, though not revolutionary in the sense of the bomb and the bullet, must be taken up and *its mission infused in the minds of the people*, for according to Pandit Jawahar Lal "terroism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as the so-called Constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility. Our national movement has long outgrown that immature age, and even the old individuals who have in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy.\* The Congress

---

\* Now these words of the Congress President have been officially reaffirmed by the U. P. (Congress) Government in these words:

"The Government realize the universally recognized duty of every Government, howsoever constituted, to prevent the commission of acts of violence irrespective of the motives which inspire such deeds. They are further, definitely and unequivocally, of opinion that non-violence is an essential requirement for the political progress of India. But great changes have taken place in the public opinion during recent years and all sections of political opinion now realize the futility of the policy of violence and have come to perceive that political progress can be more easily and more definitely achieved by pursuing a policy based on non-violence such as that advocated by the Indian National Congress."

The Leader, Aug. 25, 1937.

The Constitutionalism (without a democratic Constitution) which was a sign of political senility in India in the words of Pandit Jawahar Lal has also become a method of wrecking the Act with the acceptance of office by the Congressmen. Hence as a measure of ending it, the Congress Government in U. P. moved the following resolution in the new Assembly on Sept 4, 1937 (thus reiterating the ideas of the Congress President who has again and again emphasised upon Congressmen in Legislatures 'press and work for a Constituent Assembly'). The resolution runs thus:

in its stress on peaceful and effective action has drawn the youth of the country into its fold and all traces of terroristic activity would long have vanished but for the policy of the Government which feeds the roots out of which a helpless violence grows."

However, the new philosophy of thought and action has been provided by socialism. It is, therefore, more a method of achieving freedom or independence than a philosophy of reorganisation of the Indian society, though of course that view of life is inseparably connected with it. It is, therefore, the hope of the hopeless, the help of the helpless; it is the creed of despair. As Pandit Jawahar Lal again says:

"Temporary failure has little significance when the aim is high and the struggle bound to be a long one; it is but the incentive to further effort. Often it teaches us more than a victory easily won and becomes a prelude to a greater success. But we profit by it only if we learn its lesson and search our minds for an explanation of that failure. Only by constant self-questioning, individual and national, can we keep on the right path. An easy and unthinking confidence is almost as bad as a weak submission to a helpless dejection. Real failure comes only when we forget our ideals and objectives and principles and begin to wander away from the road which leads to their realization."\*

---

"The Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represents the will of the nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India. The Assembly demands that this Act should be repealed and replaced by a constitution for a free India framed by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise which will allow the Indian people full scope for their development according to their needs and desires."

\* This is another reason why Pandit Jawahar Lal is against 'acceptance of office' for he thinks that Congressmen will be caught in the 'net' of greed and power and they will

Secondly, therefore, Socialism is *thriving on discontent* because it has always been a child of disaffection and resentment. This discontent is not simply against the failure of the nationalist movement or against the grave inequalities of the Indian Society. It is also against *ill-provision and unemployment* of those who are highly qualifi-

forget their real aim or objective. On March 14, 1937 he again declared at Delhi that the new constitution was a 'great Snare, Sham and Mockery' and 'those people who are thinking in terms of working the constitution are enemies of the Congress and will be disowned by the people very soon.' Following these words of their leader, the executive of the Congress Socialist Party decided on March 19, 1937 that it would not as a body participate in office acceptance 'wherever a member of their party had been elected to the provincial legislature,' and on March 21, it issued a statement defining its policy towards the parliamentary programme of the Congress consequent upon its decision to accept offices conditionally. It says that the party will have to exercise greater vigilance to see that the country does not drift into reformism and that the national movement is not dissipated. The party's defeat on this issue does not in any way affect its policy, and it will continue to be opposed to this decision, but, nonetheless, it will not withdraw its co-operation from the Congress. "The party will have an attitude of critical co-operation in the parliamentary work of the Congress and its main anxiety will be to see that the declared programme and policy of combating and ending the 'slave' constitution is carried out." This statement is a faithful restatement of Pandit Nehru's ideas who, as we shall see, has declared again and again that though the Congress may not accept his ideas, he would not create dissensions within it for the fight against the enemy demands unity (it may be a patched unity) within their own ranks.

**Note :—**This last statement has been further corroborated by the events between March 1937 and August 1937. On the Wardha decision of Office acceptance in July 1937, Pandit Jawahar Lal cheerfully declared that 'the Working Committee can do no Wrong' even though it is a well known fact that the Pandit would have been the last man to agree to that proposition. Along with him, the Congress Socialist Party too has proved true to its 'March Decision'. It is going on with its 'critical corporation' and has not allowed any Socialist member to accept offices. In its Patna meeting in August, 1937 it has again reiterated its policy of 'Vigilance and has asked the Congress Ministers to implement the Congress election manifesto by securing immediate relief for workers

ed for any big job in an administration. The daily growing numbers of unemployed educated youngmen is the collection of famished wolves who because of hunger are ready to pounce upon those who are rolling with wealth. Lack of openings in industries makes this disaffection still worse, for the backwardness of the industrial development of the country is a daily reminder to them of the reactionary character of Government which, therefore, they want to substitute or reform nationally because that is the only way of satisfying their appetite and glorifying their country in the eyes of the nations of the world. Hence no amount of repression by anybody can kill this psychological urge, this unsatisfied craving of filling the belly. It can only be appeased by the provision of careers and the satisfaction of wants, which, if delayed, will only swell the numbers of angry applicants and therefore of the adherents of Socialism.

Thirdly, to crown this discontent, reports are coming of the success of the Russian Experiments specially of the Five Year Plans which have now been adopted even by Capitalistic Countries. *Socialism* thus has won its laurels and *has, therefore, emboldened the younger generation,\* dissatisfied as it is, to try to have that method of bringing about happiness and plenty in their land also.*

Fourthly, the religious riots, the religious disputations and questions like 'Music before Mosque,' the 'Arti-Namaz dispute,' the 'Shuddhi' and the 'Tabligh' Movements, the

---

\* It must be remembered that Socialists of all lands and especially those of Russia have all been youngmen; and if they have achieved so much in social reconstruction (particularly so in Russia) why should not Indian youngmen take up the same task and achieve their goal? This is why all so-called Indian Socialists are either youths or men of youthful vigour. In fact, no old politician has yet declared himself in favour of Socialism.

'Shaheedganj Mosque' issue, the so-called 'Communal representation' in legislatures have all created a contempt against religion in the younger generation, *who besides being completely ignorant of religion because of a secular education, have come to hold it as not only a mere 'opium' of the people, but as the most criminal of all doctrines*, for it has become the greatest bane of Indian Society. Socialism because it thrives on irreligion, because it wages war against God and His priests is, therefore, being favoured as the most suitable philosophy of life in India also. Already our youngmen grumble against the so-called three 'dogs' of religion—the Maulvi, the Pandit and the Bishop, for peoples of all races, countries and nationalities may sit together and talk amicably, but when these three will sit together, they will not simply bark at each other, but they would tear away each other's flesh. Religion being in this sense a great source of discord and disunity is, therefore, to be thrown away as one more barbaric survival, for, in modern days, the only religion worth attention after the satisfaction of wants is the religion of national freedom, and in India, after the defeat of the Mahatma, socialism seems to be the only hopeful religion. Further, the *Harijan Movement* though extremely liked by all sections of the people including even the younger generation, *has been another successful method of imperialism duping the Mahatma*, who had already been 'befooled' by his agreeing to go to the Round Table Conferences. The fact that the Government has given all facilities to such a movement makes them all the more suspicious, for, as against the independence or national freedom, the question of untouchability pales into insignificance. In this way, they feel that British Imperialism has been successful in diverting the energies of

their greatest adversary—the Mahatma—in comparatively very unimportant channels, for, according to them, in a socialistic commonwealth this problem would be solved by itself. In this, not only *the 'religious' weakness of a man and of the nation as a whole is being exploited*, the movement itself has been successful in creating further social cleavage, for *the conversion Movement* which has resulted owing to the declarations of Dr. Ambedkar has further antagonised and divided the already divided India of the Hindus, Muslims and Christianity. Hence the Socialists have come to the conclusion that Religion because it has proved a nuisance, must go for it is the greatest bar to the unity of the country and therefore to its liberties.

Fifthly, the personality of the irreligious Jawahar Lal who has been for long and is still the only friend, philosopher and guide of the youth, has given the younger generation a great ideal of the future leader of this country. A man of indomitable energy, a leader of forlorn hopes, Pandit Jawahar Lal is at once the idol of the impassioned youth, and because since his travels in Russia and the writing of his 'Soviet Russia' he has been growing socialist day by day, his admirers also are following their leader in his wake. If in Germany 'Führer' is a term of emotion and energy, if in Italy, Mussolini is a term of courage and determination, in Jawahar Lal, at least this is the view of his young followers, they find, with special reference to the condition of this country, a man who can really *live dangerously*, who can sacrifice anything for the cause, and who is, therefore, in a very real sense *a leader of both emotion and energy, of courage and determination*.

Having thus seen the causes of the advance of socialistic tendencies in India, I may now take up the Congress Addresses

of Pandit Jawahar Lal and examine them in detail so that we may know if he has anything to contribute to socialistic thought. It was in the Lahore Congress (1929) of which he was the President that he first referred to Socialism and talked of its having "gradually permeated the entire structure of society, and that almost the only point now in dispute is the pace and the methods of advance of Socialism." But it was in 1936 that he gave his First Socialist Presidential Address to a Democratic Congress and said that though it may not agree with his views and may not endorse them in its Resolutions, he would not create disunity within, and will work smoothly with those who do not believe in Socialism. However, throughout the whole year he maintained the patched up\* unity resembling very much of course the patched up

\* This patched up unity continues to be held even to this day and the latest instance of this patched up affair is the 'office-acceptance' resolution of the working committee which was accepted at Delhi by the All-India Congress Committee with only a slight alteration on March 18, 1937. It was reported in The Leader of March 18 that the earlier part of this resolution was Mr. Jawahar Lal's draft and the latter part Mahatma Gandhi's draft so that it comes to be a child of Sovietism and Gandhism. In this way, this compromised unity, as we shall presently see, may be easily styled as Nehruism; as this Resolution is a fine specimen of Nehruism, we may reproduce it\*below in full thus:

'The All-India Congress Committee records its high appreciation of the magnificent response of the country to the call of the Congress during the recent election and the approval by the electorate of the Congress policy and programme.

'The Congress entered these elections with its objective of independence and its total rejection of the new constitution, and the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame India's constitution. The declared Congress policy was to combat the new Act and end it. The electorate has, in an overwhelming majority, set its seal on this policy and programme and the new Act, therefore, stands condemned and utterly rejected by the people through the self same democratic process which had been invoked by the British Government, and the people have further declared that they desire to

affair of the Second International and carried on a very intensive propaganda of his views in favour of socialism. Almost every speech of the President was socialistic speech

frame their own constitution, based on national independence, through the medium of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage. This committee, therefore, demands on behalf of the people of India that the new constitution be withdrawn.

'In the event of the British Government still persisting with the new constitution in defiance of the declared will of the people, the All-India Congress Committee desires to impress upon all Congress members of the legislatures that their work inside and outside the legislatures must be based on the fundamental Congress policy of combating the new constitution and seeking to end it, a policy on the basis of which they sought the suffrage of the electorate and won their overwhelming victory in the elections. That policy must inevitably lead to deadlocks with the British Government and bring out still further the inherent antagonism between British imperialism and Indian nationalism, and expose the autocratic and undemocratic nature of the new constitution.

'The All-India Congress Committee endorses and confirms the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on Feb. 27 and 28, 1937, on the extra parliamentary activities of the Congress members of legislatures, mass contacts, and the Congress policy in the legislatures, and calls upon all Congressmen in the legislatures and outside to work in accordance with the directions contained in them.

'And on the pending question of office acceptance and in pursuance of the policy summed up in the foregoing paragraphs, the All-India Congress Committee authorises and permits the acceptance of offices in the provinces where the Congress commands a majority in the legislature, provided that Ministerships shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress party in the legislature is satisfied and is able to state publicly that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.

'Besides this, even the Statements of prominent Socialists point to this compromise: Thus Mr. M. R. Masani, the Socialist leader of Bombay, when interviewed on March 26th at Patna regarding the attitude of Socialist members of the legislatures *vis-à-vis* the Congress decision on office acceptance, said "The Socialists will carry on with Congress party, but they will always try to place their own specific viewpoints and will try to influence the Congress members to their own sides. They will act as a 'ginger group' inside the bigger party. They might differ with the Congress members on certain points, but there would be no break away.

so that when the Congress was about to meet in December 1936, he found the Provincial Committees overwhelmingly in his favour. He boldly declared that his election to Presidentship a second time would mean the acceptance of his ideas, but in spite of this warning he was elected, and his Second Address is also nothing but the Lucknow Address restated with only such additions as references to Abyssinia and the Spanish Civil War.\* There is, no doubt, an absence of that bold talk of the abolition of property which was one of the chief features of the First Address, but this was possibly because of the impending elections in which the Congress was to busy itself in February 1937. However, the fact that the old address has been repeated again, nearly word by word, gives no credit to the high position which Pandit Jawahar Lal has come to occupy for it means that he had nothing else to say or to add except what he had once said or had been saying throughout the year.

In the First Address (and now in his second also)  
 Pandit Jawahar Lal drew the attention of  
 First Address his audience and of the country to the  
 following points:—

(1) We cannot isolate India and the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world.

(2) In the world today there are two rival economic and political systems—the capitalistic order with its imperialism and daily progress towards War and the new

\* In his Address to the National Convention (March, 1937) when referring to 'Big Issues' i.e., to events in the international setting, he mentions, besides Spain, British rearmament and the French armament loan, and the frantic and terrific race to be ready for war. This attitude of Pandit Jawahar Lal is being called his 'Internationalism'. Hence Nehruism will not simply stand for

socialist order of U.S.S.R. embodying a new conception of human freedom and advancing from progress to progress. Thus Fascism and Imperialism as representing decaying Capitalism are opposed by Socialism and Nationalism of the eastern dependencies.

(3) Between Indian nationalism and Indian freedom and British Imperialism there can be no common ground, and if we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever our name or status, we remain crippled and dominated by reactionary forces and great financial vested interests of the world.

(4) British Imperialism cannot solve our economic problems such as the terrible poverty; the exploitation of our masses will continue and the vital social problems will remain unsolved. Fiercest repression will remain and civil and personal liberty will be denied.

(5) Terrorism and constitutionalism\* as methods of liberty are futile. The peaceful methods of Congress have

'National Independence': it will also stand for International Solidarity against Capitalism and Imperialism. Hence it is both Nationalism and Socialism, *but not National Socialism*: It is also a mixture of both. In one sense it is *Nationalised Socialism*, in the other it is *Socialised Nationalism*. Again his stand for Nationalism does not go against his Socialist Internationalism. He has already declared that, after all, even Nationalism is a narrower ideal. Hence, from his point of view, it is on triumphant nationalism of the subject peoples that real internationalism of the Socialist order can be achieved. Hence the love of fatherland does not mean selling away Socialism as was done by the Second International on the advent of the Great War. It is through this Second Internationalism that the objects of the Third International are to be achieved.

\* The decision of the Working Committee on July 7, 1937 for 'acceptance of office' has also opened a new era of neo-constitutionalism in India for the Constitutionalism of the Liberals was for

failed because of Middle Class leadership, which because it was tied up with property could not bear the pressure and yet "our bravest leaders and comrades have come from that class."

(6) The Congress must not be *for* the masses; it must be *of* the masses. The meaning of 'popular front' in India should be uncompromising opposition to Imperialism drawing its strength from the active participation of the peasantry and workers. Thus the only key to the solution of the Indian problems, as of the world, lies in Socialism—not in the vague humanitarian sense, but in the scientific economic sense, as a method of ending poverty and the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people.

(7) This involves revolutionary changes in our social and political structure—the ending of vested interests in land and industry as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states system.

(8) The type of this new civilization is Soviet Russia, but we will have to fashion socialism according to our natural geniuses to bring in national independence and solve our economic and social problem. The Congress would do better if it turns a socialist organization, though no division should be created in the country on this issue.

'Cooperation' and the neo-Constitutionalism of the Congress is for fighting and ending the Act of 1935. In the same way, when Mr. M. N. Roy recommended the same to the Mahatma, he also introduced a similar neo-Constitutionalism in Indian Socialism. This is why Pandit Jawahar Lal has been led to remark that 'we swing between revolution and Constitutionalism for both represent the politics of the day,' (The Leader, August 11, 1937) and even the Mahatma declared that having entered the legislatures this was the best policy for he wanted to save the country from revolution and civil disobedience on a wider scale.

(9) He believes in rapid industrialization but also favours Khadi\* and village industries but only as temporary expedients.

(10) The problem of Untouchability and the Harijans presents no difficulty as there would be no such differentiation or victimization in socialism. Economically, the Harijans are a landless proletariat.

(11) The New Act of 1935 is nothing but another charter of Slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses. Nothing but uncompromising hostility should meet it.

(12) (i) We should demand a Constituent Assembly† on an adult franchise and a mass basis in the forefront. This will not come until a semi-revolutionary situation has been created in India and the people of India can make their will felt.

(ii) We should contest elections to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and masses who are not franchised.

\* In a very recent speech in Bombay, Pandit Nehru, while appealing to Christians to wear Khaddar, explained its political, economic and psychological value and observed 'A great thing about Khadi was its *socialistic aspect*. It spread the spirit of equality among different classes'—The Leader, September 14, 1937.

† Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has still more made clear in his Address to the National Convention as to what he means by the Constituent Assembly. Thus he goes on:

"Congress members of the legislatures have their work cut out for them by Congress resolutions. That work is primarily to fight the Act and press and work for a Constituent Assembly. Some people, in their ignorance, have imagined that this Convention is itself the Constituent Assembly, and that it is going to draft a new Constitution for India. This Convention is going to do no such thing. That is not its function and the time for drawing up India's Constitution is not yet. Nor is the Constituent Assembly a magnified All Parties Conference. The Constituent Assembly

(iii) We would not accept offices\* for Independence will be lost sight of in reformism and in petty matters as against big issues and second chambers, wherever provided, will be still more reactionary.

(iv) By creating deadlocks we want to kill the Federation, for our real work lies with the masses outside the legislatures.

that we demand will come into being only as the expression of the will and the strength of the Indian people; it will function when it has sanctions behind it to give effect to its decisions without reference to outside authority. It will represent the sovereignty of the Indian people and will meet as the arbiter of our destiny."

\* The Congress successes in the elections (February, 1937) to the Provincial Legislatures forced upon the Working Committee of the Congress to consider the question of office acceptance. Its statement on 'Congress Policy in Legislatures' (Feb. 27, 1937, published in the Papers of March 2, 1937) is nothing but a dictation of the ideas of Pandit Jawahar Lal. The Congress President had already taken disciplinary action against some of the recalcitrant members thus taking the first step in the policy of 'purging' of Stalin. Now he has dictated another step—no alliances with other groups—which was so much emphasized by Lenin. The demand for Purna Swaraj and the Constituent Assembly has been repeated and a programme for Congress members chalked out—a programme which is not for cooperation with the new constitution or Government but to combat the Act and the policy underlying it as this Act and policy are intended to tighten the hold of British imperialism on India and to continue the exploitation of the Indian people."

In this way, the Congress Working Committee has dotted the 'i's' and crossed the 't's' of the ideas of the President. This attitude is leading us to believe that the future of India seems to centre round the politics of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. There was a time when it was said that 'Gandhi is India and India is Gandhi'. Who knows if the time is coming when people might say 'Nehru is Congress and Congress is Nehru,' for, as I have already shown, he is already dictating and has become the Indian Stalin. It is quite possible that the Mahatmas, the Rajendra Prasads and the Patels be turned out of the Congress, bag and baggage, in the near future by the followers of Jawahar Lal as these extremists (now back-numbers) had once turned out the older congressmen (now Liberals). The future of the Congress may be with Jawahar Lal, M. N. Roy and Subhas Bose.

(v) We can never admit the right of the Indian states to continue as feudal and autocratic monarchies.

(vi) We must condemn the Communal Award for it divides India on religious basis.

The Wardha Decision (July 1937) has, however, for the time being belied these hopes. The Mahatma has once more shown that though he is outside the Congress, he is still as powerful as he was within it. Mr. M. N. Roy, as already stated, had also advised the Mahatma for office-acceptance. He is, therefore, no longer regarded an Orthodox Socialist. He is drifting towards reformist Socialism and is therefore today more with Kautsky than with Lenin. This is why the Socialists are denouncing his policy and programme as M. N. Royism. Their position too seems to be weakening day by day for already defections have occurred in their ranks and the eleven Gujarat Socialists who resigned their membership of the party in July 1937, when even so far as to declare that 'the existence of the Congress Socialist party is unnecessary now. It could only serve as a propagandist group, only to vanish in course of time. In its Patna meeting of August, 1937, the Executive of the Socialist Party has been forced to pass a resolution suspending the executive of the Andhra Socialist party for breach of discipline :

The ideas of Pandit Jawahar Lal regarding the Act of 1935, the 'Constituent Assembly and Independence' have again been repeated by the National Convention on March 20, 1937. Its first resolution may be reproduced here for the interest of the reader :—

" This Convention reiterates the opinion of the people of India that the Government of India Act 1935 has been designed to perpetuate the subjection and exploitation of the Indian people and to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India."

" The Convention declares that the Indian people do not recognise the right of any external authority to dictate the political and economic structure of India. The Indian people can only accept a constitutional structure framed by them and based on the independence of India as a nation and which allows them full scope for development according to their needs and desires.

" The Convention stands for a genuine democratic State in India where political power has been transferred to the people as a whole. Such a state can only be created by the Indian people themselves through the medium of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage and having the power to determine finally the constitution of the country.

(13) Just as in Russia the six hundred thousand towns and villages based on 18 years suffrage are living a life of complete democracy in the same way we hope to make the

---

“ The electorate had in an overwhelming measure set its seal on the Congress objective of independence and rejection of the new constitution. The constitution, therefore, stands condemned and utterly rejected by the people through the selfsame democratic process which has been invoked by the British Government, and the people have further declared that they desire to frame their own constitution based on national independence through the medium of a constituent assembly.

“ This Convention, therefore, calls on all Congress parliamentary parties to take the earliest opportunity to put forward in the name of the nation the demand in their respective legislatures that the Government of India Act 1935 be withdrawn, so that the people of India may frame their own constitution.”

This same resolution was repeated at every public meeting in connection with the observance of Hartal on April 1, 1937. Besides this Resolution, Pandit Nehru's Address to the National Convention has made the meaning of Independence unequivocally clear. This was necessitated, in spite of the Lahore Resolution of the Congress regarding Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence), by the declaration of the Mahatma that if, under the terms of the Statute of Westminster, Dominion Status meant the 'right to secession,' then, he personally was prepared to accept it as the substance of Independence (and not its mere shadow). Pandit Nehru at once retorted in the "Bombay Chronicle" as to the meaning of Independence and now here he is again reiterating it so that no ambiguity may remain as to the ideal of India. Thus he says:

“ Let no one forget that we have entered the legislatures not to co-operate in any way with British imperialism but to fight and end this Act which enslaves and binds us. Let no one forget that we fight for independence.

#### INDEPENDENCE

“ *What is this Independence?* A clear, definite, ringing word, which all the world understands, with no possibility of ambiguity. And yet, to our misfortune, even that word has become an object of interpretation and misinterpretation. Let us be clear about it. Independence means national freedom in the fullest sense of the word; it means, as our pledge has stated, severance of the British connection. It means anti-imperialism and no compromise with

Primary Committee as the basis of our structure. We should organise the peasants as producers and affiliate them to the Congress. We must encourage workers' unions. Even women should organize. The Congress would co-ordinate all these activities.

(14) We should be ready for big action which will come sooner or later, with the daily growing crises of Capitalism. The Congress will refuse to participate in the

empire. Words are hurled at us: dominion status, Statute of Westminster, British Commonwealth of Nations, and we quibble about their meaning. I see no real commonwealth anywhere, only an empire exploiting the Indian people and numerous other peoples in different parts of the world. I want my country to have nothing to do with this enormous engine of exploitation in Asia and Africa. If this engine goes, we have nothing but good-will for England, and in any event we wish to be friends with the mass of the British people.

#### DOMINION STATUS

"Dominion status is a term which arose under peculiar circumstances and it changed its significance as time passed. In the British group of nations, it signified a certain European dominating group exploiting numerous subject peoples. That distinction continues whatever change the Statute of Westminster might have brought about in the relations *inter se* of the members of that European dominating group. That group represents British imperialism and it stands in the world today for the very order and forces of reaction against which we struggle. How then can we associate ourselves willingly? Or is it conceived that we might in the course of time and if we behave ourselves, be promoted from the subject group to the dominating group, and yet the imperialist structure and basis of the whole will remain more or less as it is? This is a vain conception having no relation to reality, and even if it were within the realms of possibility, we should have none of it, for we would then become partners in imperialism and in the exploitation of others. And among these others would probably be large numbers of our own people.

It is said, and I believe Gandhiji holds this view, that if we achieved national freedom, that would mean the end of British imperialism in India, and a necessary result of this would be the winding up of British imperialism itself. Under such conditions there is no reason why we should not continue our connection with

coming war.\* India's struggle will therefore go on in spite of all the obstacles in her way.

Now this summary of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's Addresses, compared with the methods and programme of

Pandit Nehru's Orthodox Socialism, I again repeat, Addresses and his originality. represents in a diminished form the latest

phase of the propaganda of that movement. Hence there is nothing peculiar or original in his utterances and programme that he has placed before the country. This clearly shows that Pandit Nehru is not a genuine thinker. He is a Garibaldi, not a Mazzini nor even a Cavour. He is the sword of

Britain. There is force in the argument for our quarrel is not with Britain or British people, but when we think in these terms, a larger and a different world comes into our ken, and dominion status and the Statute of Westminster pass away from the present to the historical past. That larger world does not think of a British group of nations, but of a world group based on political and social freedom.

To talk, therefore, of dominion status, in its widest significance, even including the right to separate, is to confine ourselves to one group, which of necessity will oppose and be opposed by other groups, and which will essentially be based on the present decaying social order. Therefore we cannot entertain this idea of dominion status in any shape or form; it is independence we want, not any particular status. Under cover of that phrase, the tentacles of imperialism will creep up and hold us in their grip, though the outer structure might be good to look at

And so our pledge we must hold and we must labour for the severance of the British connection."

\* The condemnation of the despatch of Indian troops to Shanghai in the recent Sino-Japanese Clash (Aug, '37) by Pandit Jawahar Lal again is more a Socialist protest than a national one. It is true, none would like sending Indian troops abroad without the consent of the Indian people, but the prompt protest of Messrs. K. M. Ashraf and Sajjad Zaheer etc. against the approval or justification of that step by Messrs. Bhulabhai Desai and Satya Murti who are also Congressmen, clearly shows the difference between the national and the Socialist view of things and events.

(Vide The Leader, Aug., 29, 1937.)

Socialism, not its brain, and far less its soul. *Socialism in India, therefore, is as yet without brain and without soul.* His 'addresses' appear without doubt to be the speeches of the leader of an army rather than the expositions of a thinker. He has, therefore, failed to impress upon the people as the philosopher of Socialism, though of course he is recognised on all hands as its first soldier.

Besides this imitation in thinking, I also find the same imitation in methods but this imitation is not the imitation of Russia only, but a result of the experience of the whole of the socialistic movement. The Fabian method of lecturing,\* of issuing pamphlets, of writing Essays and of starting a journal which might permeate the socialistic ideas in the Indian intellectual circles has already been adopted and there are many who have already attended to a series of lectures that had been only lately arranged in the Swaraj Bhawan, who have bought and read the Congress Golden Jubilee Essays (eleven in number) on such social and economic topics as Satyagrah, Village Industries and Reconstruction, Khadi, Rural indebtedness, Public Debt, Tariff Policy, Public Service, Defence, Woman in India, Indian Transport and Indian Currency and Exchange, and who now often read the so-called 'Congress Socialist.' But even, in addition to these, we now find the socialist leader speaking and emphasizing with all the force at his command the Bakuninian method of '*going among the people and spreading the new doctrines*'—a method already successfully tried

---

\* The All-India Socialist Summer Camp of the Congress Socialist party was held at Almora in May 1937 when lectures were delivered and discussions held on Socialist and National subjects. One of the objects of holding the camp was to train members of the party for propaganda and organization.

in Russia when the Ukase of the Czar had called back the students from the European Continent to save them from dangerous influences, or the Guesdist method which, in the words of Laidler, may be stated thus: 'The entrance of the socialists into politics is not, therefore, to carve out seats of councillors or deputies but because the political campaign gives to the Socialists a remarkable opportunity for reaching the masses with the party's educational propaganda.' It is meant to prepare 'the masses for the final assault upon the state which is the citadel of Capitalistic society.' The *election campaign and the holding of the last Congress in a village* are meant to carry out the same purposes which the Guesdists wanted to achieve in France. Lastly, the calling of the constituent assembly had been the work of Russia and hence that too will be extremely necessary when the situation for it has been created. In these ways, therefore, the socialistic regime is to be slowly inaugurated in India, for this is a period of preparation, of march towards the goal which will be facilitated by the on-coming crisis of Capitalism (which is the most orthodox belief of the so-called scientific socialism.)

But this estimate of the philosophy and method behind the possible advent of Indian Socialism does not mean that there is nothing significant in the thought and action of its chief actor. He has already won a handful of close admirers, not to mention the many emotioned youths who have come to love him. That group has certainly come to venerate and sometime also practise what we may now safely call Nehruism.\*

---

\* From the point of view of recent tendencies in political thought, Nehruism as explained and interpreted by me in the following pages is quite consistent with tendencies in World thought. In a Paper which now appears as Appendix in my book 'The First

Nehruism, in outer dress means the so-called Jawahar Bandi and a 'Chatti' just as Gandhism meant a Gandhi Cap and the Khadi attire but for Gandhiji himself, only a loin cloth. <sup>Nehruism in dress.</sup> Nehruism means even more than this. It includes Gandhism also (minus of course the loin cloth.) The continuation of the Kurta and the Qamiz and the Dhoti and the Payjama is the remnant of bourgeoisie as the use of the capitalistic money by way of subscriptions is a remnant of capitalism in the advent of socialism. Thus the Nehruite admirers are already seen with this external Nehruism. But this is not all.

Beneath this external soldier's garb, there is Nehruism proper. It is to me a child of Leninism, Gandhism and of bourgeoisie as Nehru's princely bourgeois <sup>Nehruism in spirit.</sup> house is a meeting place of Gandhism and Communism. For the revolutionary methods of Leninism, he has substituted the *peaceful method*\* of Gandhism within the bourgeois organisation of

---

Principles of Politics,' I tried to show how in recent thinking Relativism is holding ground. In that same sense, Nehruism, in its own sphere, is also Relativism. From this stand-point, Nehruism is a significant development of the 20th Century political thought and practice.

\* The 'peaceful method' of Pandit Jawahar Lal is to be differentiated from that of the Mahatma because the latter believes in non-violence in *thought, word and deed*, while the former seems to believe in non-violence in deed only, but, not in *thought and word* both of which are to be aggressive. But aggressive also does not mean the 'aggressiveness' of Communists or Anarchists, of bomb and bullet, of armed resistance; it means simply the intermediate position between Gandhi's passive disobedience and Communist active theory of revolution and instruction. In this sense, we may, call this Nehruite method as 'peaceful aggressive method of achieving India's goal'. It may also be fitly styled as the 'passive theory of insurrection'. It is, therefore, not a theory of appealing on 'bended knees.' It is one of giving straight battle, even within the enemy's own citadel.

the Congress. In this way Nehruism has the *grain of* Leninism and Gandhism but only *the husk of* bourgeoisism which is thus changing its old skin giving place to the new order of things, so that Leninistic Socialism is to be achieved through the Gandhist method of *peaceful appeal* to the masses through the bourgeois democratic organisation of the Congress. Thus though Pandit Jawahar Lal declares that 'the Congress stands for democracy, not socialism'\* he forgets that in his philosophy the two cannot be separated. Socialism is to be achieved through democratism for *socialism may and must be democratic but every democracy cannot be socialistic*. Hence Nehruism means a reconciliation of Socialism and democracy in India.† This marriage of socialistic principles with democratic ideals and with transitional bourgeoisism can also be seen in the Essays published as the Jubilee Brochures‡ in the Satyagrah Pamphlet in Gandhiji's own words; in Some aspects of Khadi and village reconstruction; and also in Defence or Nationalization of army and other economic questions.§ Not only these, even

---

\* Let everyone who wants to know the truth of this statement himself read the resolutions of the Faizpur Congress and decide whether this statement of Pandit J. L. Nehru really corresponds to the actual facts of our political existence.

† The very name of 'The Congress Socialist Party' (or of its organ "The Congress Socialist") is a fusion of Leninism, Gandhism and Bourgeoisism and the declaration of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, as President of the Third Annual Session of the Congress Socialist party, promising Swaraj within Five years is itself a combination of the bourgeois expectation of the Mahatma of 'Swaraj in One Year' and the communistic method of a 'Five-year plan' to achieve real communism.

‡ Another brochure on 'Some Economic and Financial Aspects of British Rule in India' by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad was added to this list in April.

§ Similarly, in the Programme outlined by the working committee we find the Social reformism of Gandhism, that is, it includes a campaign against intoxicating-liquor and drugs also.

in the matter of the abolition of property, the Pandit sees a *via media*, for as he himself seems to hint in one of his Addresses, he *has been pained to read much that had happened in Russia* and therefore all excesses are to be avoided in all reconstruction of society. He himself goes on to state his position thus: 'I should like it to go as peacefully as possible and with the least injury to any group. I am perfectly prepared for reasonable compensation to be given.' 'This of course envisages a solution by compromise of this problem' for otherwise it would be a much more costly and painful affair. In this way, Nehruism has come to be a compromise between Marxism and Tolstoyism, between Lenin's Communism and Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation, between proletarian socialism and nationalistic democratic bourgeoisism, between a highly industrialised development and a crude revival of outworn methods, between active revolution and passive resistance. It is the Garibaldism of an unarmed people.

But this is not all. The loin cloth philosophy though outwardly discarded in external attire, is internally an inseparable part of Jawahar Lal's being. It is never forgotten. It is to be seen in the enormous sacrifices of all kind. It is to be found in the giving to the nation of the Swaraj Bhawan; in the ever readiness and steadiness of becoming a permanent jail bird; in refusing all his father's 'princism.' In one word, in sacrificing everything in the cause with which he, rightly or wrongly, has come to identify himself. Nehruism thus has also come to mean voluntary pauperism.

Further, because Pandit Jawahar Lal has adopted the life of a soldier, his life is a life of camp, for

he is always on the march, preparing his soldiers to give a good battle to the enemy. His is a life of ceaseless striving, of working by day and planning by night. In one word, it is a life of action and nothing but action. It stands for "live dangerously," and this means that the soldier is always on the saddle, he is never in bed. Nehruism thus stands for "Life is movement." It is never stagnation. It is never old, never tired. It is youthful, ever fresh, ever ready, full of energy and zeal and enthusiasm. It is without doubt always 'kicking.' But though kicking, it is not for 'killing.' It stands for liberty, not for assassination. It stands for discipline within its own ranks, but for indiscipline and agitation against the enemy. It stands for Civil Liberties Union in cooperation with other bourgeois parties, but it would not cooperate with them in achieving independence, though the fight in each case is with the same enemy.

### IX. Islam and Socialism

After these remarks on Nehruism, I think, it would not be out of place, if I say something on Islam and Socialism, for the socialist leader once happened to remark *that socialism would be most easily accepted by Muslims in India than by any other community.* But when I question his argument on

---

\* Though irreligious, it seems to believe that there is no harm in utilizing the bourgeois religious influence of the Mahatma on the masses in winning elections at the polls for the Congress and then making use of this success through the 'opium of the people' for the propaganda of socialism. Further, if the capitalists exploited labour the so-called socialists in India can exploit the supreme religious devotion of the people to Mahatma in favour of their elections and socialist propaganda.

this remark it is not because of any political fight with him (for we—University men are only detached and dispassionate observers of what is going on), but because I feel it my religious duty to save Muslims from a doctrine which believes in a Godless and, therefore, in a headless world, a world which would *lose its head* and would be guided by the eyeless ‘tail,’ and therefore because of the blind leadership of which we will fall and fall in an abyss so deep that it will become difficult for us to come out again.

Socialism thus wants to exist by waging a ceaseless war against God, *but without God Islam does not and cannot exist*. Hence my argumentation with the socialist leader is not an argumentation of a Jinnah or a Chintamani or even a Bhai Parmanand but the religious defence of a doctrine which is entirely unnecessary for him because perhaps it is also a bourgeois doctrine\* but *which is everything to us as it has*

Socialism and war  
against religion

\* Though religion is a bourgeois doctrine, yet for purposes of Socialistic propaganda, the administration of ‘Oath’ is not undesirable. We do not know how an ‘Oath’ (which is a part of ‘religion’) can have any binding effect upon those who are *really* irreligious. The Oath which was drafted by the Working Committee and accepted by the All-India Congress Committee and which was repeated by every one present, Socialist and non-Socialist members of the Congress alike—in the All-India Convention on March 19, 1937 at the instance of Pandit Nehru, runs thus—“I, a member of this all-India Convention, pledge myself to the service of India and work in the legislatures outside for the independence of India and ending the exploitation and poverty of her people. I pledge myself to work under the discipline of the Congress for furtherance of the Congress ideals and objectives to the end that India may be free and independent and her millions freed from heavy burdens they suffer from.” Is not this the finest example of the remnant bourgeoisie in the conception of Nehruism? In this connection, it must also be remembered that this pledge also was reported to be originally drafted by Pandit Nehru and then touched up by Mahatma Gandhi before being placed for approval by the Working Committee.

*been even to his Guru, the Mahatma.* And though Pandit Jawahar Lal could exchange Him with Marx and Lenin, we cannot accept them for God and Muhammad (Peace be upon him!). On this, one may ask, are not Muslims there in Soviet Russia? Certainly there are, but it must be remembered that Socialism there *has now been Islamised* (or at least it has come down from its original feverish and continuous hostility against God and religion)\* *rather than Islam socialised*, for says Jackson "In the Moslem republics men still turn to Mecca to pray and strive to make, once in their life-time, the long pilgrimage to the Holy City." Since

It was in May, 1937, that the Mahatma had written that an Oath can be religious, legal and constitutional. This reminds me of Filmer who as a supporter of the Divine Right Theory shifted the main basis of its strength from religious foundations to the natural constitution of human Society and therefore opened the flood-gate of objections and criticisms. A believer of religious politics could do no greater harm to his own cause than the Mahatma has done by so lightly treating the sanctity of Oath. It has always been our belief that an Oath is an Oath and now that the Mahatma himself has created an opening for doubt and discussion, there will be no limit to faithlessness, unbelief and Machiavellianism in public or even in private life. It should, therefore, be not at all surprising (after the Mahatma's declaration) that the Congress Minister of Justice in U.P. should at once tread in his footsteps and declare that the oath of allegiance in legislatures 'was not a religious oath. It was a political oath taken for political purposes with a political end in view, and for effecting political purposes'—The Leader, September 8, 1937.

\* The Socialist High-Priests—Marx, Engels and Lenin—have all written against this spiritualistic side of man's life and they have tried to interpret in their own materialistic way. Religion has been explained by them as nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces, and God has been described as the extraneous force of Capitalistic mode of production. Besides these, they regard the conception of 'the life of the hereafter' as a snare for the believing people—a doctrine which is one of the Cardinal principles of Islam. Hence in no sense can a Muslim accept Orthodox Socialism, if he wants to remain a Muslim.

1931, Soviet Russia has come down from its former policy of crusade against God to crusade against churches which too, however, now centres on *only* propaganda against religion.

Hence socialism as unbelieving Jawahar Lal preaches it, as one who has no religion and, therefore, no God, cannot and should not find any response whatever from Muslims, if they are really Muslims, for the conception of God is the centre round which Islam moves. *If you strike off this uncrowned King of Islam, the heathens of socialism would be the result.*

However, to return to the statement of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, we now say that it can mean one of the two following things.

Firstly, that because the Muslims have become poor and paupers, they have nothing to lose in joining a struggle of havenots, for both land and capital have already passed into the hands of the Hindus who will think fifty times before they turn socialist. The Muslims will thus accept this creed because they will gain everything in the coming 'loot,' while the Hindus would lose everything and gain nothing in the coming robbery. If this is the meaning which the Pandit had in view then surely such a statement would be neither *flattering* or *complimentary* to the Muslims nor palatable to the Hindus for *it makes the Muslim a plunderer and the Hindu a detective*, the Muslim an aggressor, the Hindu on the defensive. Will not such a statement create a greater gulf between the two communities—a gulf the consequences of which have not been adequately weighed and thought of? Secondly, if the statement means acceptance of Socialism by Muslims because of their social democracy, of their

J. Lal's Socialism  
and Muslims.

Meanings of  
J. Lal's Statement.

equality, of their international brotherhood (in all of which socialism resembles Islam), then too Panditji is hopelessly mistaken, and therefore I may remind him of what De Tocqueville said about the utility of a second chamber. *If socialism promises a society which has already been provided by Islam then there is no need of it and it is superfluous; and if it does away with the very principle of unity of human race and therefore of the great international Muslim brotherhood, I mean, the conception of God, then it is mischievous.* Hence in either case, it is to be rejected. Further, the likeness of Godless Socialism and Islam with its God has the likeness of the social contracts of Hobbes and Rousseau, which though seem to be similar are yet diametrically opposite. Strike off the crowned head of Hobbes Leviathan, says Morley, and you will have the sovereign people of Rousseau. Similarly, *strange though it may seem*,\* strike off the God of Islam, and you will have a society of athiests which may fairly be called a society of socialism.

Hence, from the religious point of view, we are led to the conclusion that *if a Muslim accepts socialism without God, he is anything but a Muslim*† for he

Conclusion about  
Islam and  
Islam and Social-  
ism.

has denied the very First Principle of Islam—the Kalima of which the first part emphasizes the sovereignty of God—head for “*There is no God but God and Muhammad is His*

---

\* Religiously considered, Islam appears to be a ‘Veiled monarchy’.

† It was reported that on March 23rd, 1937 a deputation of two members of the Working Committee of the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind waited on Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi and discussed with him the trend of Muslim politics. The Al-Jamiat, the organ of that religious-political organization, published an account of that discussion in which the Muslim religious leaders are said to

*Prophet*” has been changed into “*There is nothing save material things (of the stomach and the belly) and Karl Marx is its Prophet.*” It is this Materialism that Islam despises

have invited the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the statements of a number of respectable Congressmen which created difficulties in the way of Muslims joining the Congress and fighting for India's freedom under its banner. Along with this, Mufti Kifayat Ullah, Maulana Ahmad Saeed and other leaders of the Jamiat had a heart to heart talk with Mr. Jawahar Lal also . . . The Jamiat leaders were understood to have asked for a clear enunciation of the Congress policy with regard to the shariat law and safeguarding of Muslim culture.' We have, therefore, to say what these religious leaders decide regarding the acceptance of Godless Socialistic ideas for now joining the Congress cannot easily be separated from Socialism. In his 'Address' to the All-India Convention, Pandit Nehru observed 'I have no manner of doubt that the Muslim masses are turning to the Congress to seek relief from their innumerable burdens and their future co-operation is assured, provided we approach them rightly and on the basis of economic questions.'

Perhaps the statement of the Congress President may be correct, but will not religious disability be a great hindrance? Does he think that this factor will not count, or the programme of the Congress will remain purely economic. Or will he declare that his Socialism also, as it is sometimes contended for Russian Socialism, will neither be anti-God nor anti-religion?

In reply to a statement of Mr. Jinnah in the beginning of May, Pandit Jawahar Lal contended that Religion and Politics should remain separated. This shows Panditji's gross ignorance of what Islam is. In Islam it is impossible to think in terms of separation of religion and politics and upto the time the Muslims are living as Muslims, it is impossible to think in terms of a purely economic or political party or policy. There may be some misguided (or ignorant) Muslims who in their zeal for Socialism or Modernism may say that there is no longer a Muslim community in India or that religion is a private affair of an individual but this does not mean that by their heresy Islam has died out or will die out in this country. Besides, Panditji is also mistaken in the right study of human nature. To separate religion and politics is to separate the nature of man himself as if human nature can be easily bisected into the debit and credit sides of an account book. Is not this argument of Panditji based upon the same fallacy on which the self regarding and other regarding actions of Mill were based?

After the National Convention, the approach to the Muslim Masses, which has been hinted above, was inaugurated in right earnest with the words “Congress contact with Muslim

and it has always despised and it is this philosophy of life which has been termed *a pig philosophy*. Socialism had dangled gold before all and sundry, knowing full well that all the five fingers cannot be (mechanically) equal. But

Masses"—a socialistic expression thrust upon the democratic Congress by the genius of Pandit Nehru (for he says, as has been already pointed out, that the Congress stands for democracy, not for Socialism). To me it seems to be a very unhappy expression for several reasons:—

(a) It gives the idea that *only* Muslims have not joined the Congress while every Congressman claims that they have always joined it.

(b) If it means that they should join in large numbers, it also suggests that if the Muslims are nationalists *all of them* must join it; otherwise they are communalists.

(c) Is not the atheistic and irreligious socialistic association of the Congress with Mr. Nehru and his so-called Muslim socialistic followers a hindrance for the generality of Muslims to join it for he has already declared that he wants that organisation to turn Socialistic?

(d) This policy now appears to me to be a 'leap in the dark' policy, for rightly or wrongly from after the Jhansi bye-election, I have come to believe that in the end it is likely to create more reaction and bitterness than good. The July offer of Babu Rajendra Prasad to Mr. Jinnah ought to have been taken up and discussions resumed. Though Pandit Nehru has lost all faith in unity conferences, I am still inclined to think that much good will come out of them and interminable controversies can be brought to an end.

(e) The extremist Muslims, like the extremist Hindus, may join the Congress and they have already and always joined it. But may I pray for those so-called Muslims who *really* belong neither to the Muslim League (a liberal organisation) nor to the Congress, but who are led away by their own selfish ends? To such Muslims my only advice is "create character and mend yourselves, it is only then that you can serve your country and community. Be sincere in your professions and be true to yourselves. You should ponder over these words and you should not take them ill. They have not been written in a spirit of malice or any other such feeling. They have been written because the world hates you and therefore laughs at your actions. Hence be true Socialists, Congressmen or Liberals but declare it boldly, fearlessly, clearly and openly. This is what your religion has always taught you; therefore, my earnest prayer is 'God bless you and give you character enough so that

man is easily befooled because he is a creature of wants and impulses. Hence socialism has opened the way for a permanent heart burning unless that society has been ushered in which it has promised. Islam, however, makes no such promises. If it has placed Zakat on the rich and if it has abolished interest and usury, and if it has divided property

you may shine forth as sincere individuals of the rising Indian Nation.'

In this connection, it would be extremely interesting to read the following case which has been reported by A. P. I. from the Lucknow University and published in *The Leader* of August 18, 1937 — "An interesting point, whether Mr. Shafiq Ahmed Naqvi, a local Socialist Labour worker and a student of M. A. of the University of Lucknow, is a Musalman or not, was raised before Dr. Banerjee, returning officer for the coming election for the secretaryship of the University Union. It has been decided by the Vice-Chancellor, to whom the matter was referred, that Mr. Naqvi is not Musalman. The vice-chancellor came to this decision by a simple process, which required no hearing of lengthy arguments. He wrote on a slip of paper the sentences (1) 'I am a Musalman,' and (2) 'I am not a Musalman' and asked Mr. Naqvi to score out one of them. Mr. Naqvi scored out the first.

The facts of the case are that Mr. Siddique, another aspirant for the secretaryship, raised an objection against the nomination of his rival, Mr. Naqvi, on the ground that the seat is by convention reserved for a Muslim, whereas Mr. Naqvi is not a Muslim. Mr. Naqvi, when interrogated by the returning officer, refused to admit that he was a Muslim or held belief in any religion, though he admitted being born of a Muslim parentage and having not joined any non-Muslim established religion. After about an hour's heated discussion, the returning officer referred the matter to the vice-chancellor.

It is mentioned in this connection that Mr. Naqvi is the candidate of the Radical Students' Party, one of the aims of which is to combat communalism in the University.

The matter was referred by certain students to Sir Wazir Hasan, ex-Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, who stated:

'The word "Mahomedan" for the purposes of election is not defined in the Government of India Act. Nor is it defined in any of the rules made in relation thereto. While the term "Indian Christian" is defined in the Government of India Act and in that definition reference is made to the profession of the religious faith (Schedule L Part I Para 26) the word "Mahomedan" therefore must

among the children of man, it is because it had in view the equalising of conditions for all, of course, as far as it was possible without creating heart burning, without killing individual freedom, initiative and enterprise. For the same reason also, knowing full well that all individuals cannot have *equal power, equal foresight and equal energy*, it has not emphasised like Marx, the poverty of philosophy; *but the philosophy of poverty, a philosophy of solace, of comfort, but not of antagonism*. This is, therefore, my religious reply to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru of a problem which he has raised in his speeches on Socialism and Islam.

---

be interpreted to mean a member of the Muslim community without any reference to the religious beliefs of the individual concerned. In this particular case, I understand that Mr Naqvi does not repudiate his communal affiliation. That is enough to justify his being treated as Mahomedan, whatever personal religious beliefs he may hold. This meaning is all the more applicable to a case where the individual in question has not adopted any of the religions, which if he had adopted might have given effect of disaffiliation from the community to which he originally belonged and even now belongs. I am therefore of opinion that Mr. Naqvi as a member of the Mahomedan community must be held to be valid."

I may now add that the decision of the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University is quite correct for I had already given this verdict in February when this Lecture had been written. But I must make one point still clearer and more explicit and it is that the acceptance of *only* Orthodox or Marxian Socialism will affect the Muslim belief and not of all kinds of Socialisms. Hence Muslims can be Socialists without going outside the pale of Islam, but that Socialism must not be of the irreligious, atheistic and communistic variety. In the case under consideration, the student certainly professes belief in Marxian Socialism and is, therefore, not a Musalman. The expression "Socialist or Communist Musalman," therefore, involves a contradiction in terms.

As for Sir Wazir Hassan's statement, I can say only this much—A Daniel come to judgment! It is news to us that a Muslim is a Muslim not because he believes in the message of the Holy Quran—in Allah and His Apostle—but because the Government of India Act, or for the matter of that, an Act of British Parliament (or any other human Act) defines the (wrong) word 'Mahomedan' or even the word Muslim in a particular way.

## X. The Work of the International Labour Office and Conferences

After thus finishing Socialism in India, I should have liked to close this topic by some concluding remarks, but I think it would be a great injustice to the Socialist movement if I ignore even a passing reference to the work of the International Labour Office and the Annual International Labour Conferences. It is true that the establishment of the Office is not the handi-work of socialist parties or any socialist Government. It is the work of the so-called bourgeois powers. But whatever it is, it is a standing monument of socialist influence on the world. It is through such constructive channels that the growing influence of destructive socialism has been greatly checked, for bourgeois governments themselves have taken to a programme of labour legislation. A perusal of the Conventions, Recommendations and Resolutions accepted or passed by these conferences will make even the greatest critic of the League think twice before he condemns that institution as a totally imperialistic organization.

## XI. Conclusion

However, to conclude, I must state that the socialistic movement has not been simply a cause of mischief only in this world of ours, for if it has proved criminal in many ways, the corresponding theory of nationality also has proved no less criminal. Even Religion has proved as criminal as both of them. It has without doubt drawn and centred

Estimate of  
Socialism.

attention of the peoples and philosophers and statesmen alike on the betterment of the conditions of those who, though they work most get the least in comparison with those who work least and get most. It has certainly led to great reformist legislation and has already succeeded in ameliorating the condition of those whom the world really always neglected. In this sense unquestionably it has proved a blessing to Civilization, for the capitalistic societies have been forced to take up its lead though on lips always denying the force of its many arguments.

But beyond this, I cannot go, for, what is the proof that when the ultimate society of Final Communism is established, it will also not pass into a 'Chinese stationary state?' What is the proof that

Man a creature  
of change.

it will not create stagnation? The whole survey of the socialistic thought and movement that I have presented clearly shows that the whole history of man has been a history of murmur, of dissatisfaction and of discontentment. Man, I have throughout emphasised, has ever been a creature of change and he would again feel dissatisfaction in that state of existence. And why should he not, for after all, is he not made after the image of God Himself? What was the necessity, one may ask, of creating the world by God if that world is to be destroyed again? What was the necessity of God's objective manifestation in such varieties as we see in nature? It was, perhaps, a desire for change. It was this desire that forced Adam to take the 'forbidden fruit' and placed him on the road to this life of daily change. Hence when the 'great father' of man found himself tired of the static life of heaven and could not resist himself from doing an act which his Creator had forbidden, can man sit in silence in a society of static repose

which the Communist promises? Certainly not! He would again become dissatisfied and would murmur for change for he is a creature of change. Hence I maintain and repeat the premise from which I started—that man to me has been from times immemorial a murmuring animal and will continue, till times eternal, a murmuring animal. He will always change because change is his nature. Not only the world in which he lives changes every minute, his very being is changing from moment to moment. Change, therefore, is another name for life itself. But according to Islam, (not to speak of other religions) even the life of the ‘hereafter’ is a life of continuous progress. Hence death does not mean stagnation. It is but a door for the further development of man.

This is, I think, the final philosophy of the dynamics of man.



## APPENDIX I

### THE CONSTITUTION OF U.S.S.R.

*July 10, 1918.*

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Declaration of Rights of the Labouring and Exploited Masses confirmed by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, ratified by the Fifth All-Russian Congress, are the Fundamental Law of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

## PART I

### DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE LABOURING AND EXPLOITED MASSES

#### CHAPTER I

1. Russia is declared a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All central and local authority is vested in these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of national Soviet Republics.

#### CHAPTER II

3. With the fundamental aim of suppressing all exploitation of man by man, of abolishing for ever the

division of society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of bringing about the Socialist organisation of society, and of establishing the triumph of Socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets further decrees:

(a) In order to establish the socialisation of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the workers, without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division, carrying with it the right of use only.

(b) All forests, underground mineral wealth, and waters of national importance, all live stock and appurtenances, together with all model-farms and agricultural concerns, are declared public property.

(c) As a first step towards the complete transfer to the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic of all factories, workshops, mines, railways, and other means of production and transport, and in order to ensure the supremacy of the workers over the exploiters, the Congress ratifies the Soviet law on workers' control of industry and that on the Supreme Economic Council.

(d) The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets regards the law repudiating the debts contracted by the government of the Tsar, the landlords, and the bourgeoisie as a first blow at international financial capitalism; and it expresses its entire confidence that the Soviet Government will continue firmly in this direction, until the international revolt of the workers against the yoke of capitalism shall have secured a complete victory.

(e) The Congress ratifies the transfer of all banks to the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the

conditions ensuring the emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.

(f) In order to exterminate all parasitic elements of society, and to organise the economic life of the country, work useful to the community shall be obligatory upon all.

(g) In order to secure the supremacy of the labouring masses, and to guard against any possibility of the exploiters regaining power, the Congress decrees the arming of the workers, the formation of a Socialist Red Army of workers and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the propertied classes.

### CHAPTER III

4. Expressing its firm determination to deliver humanity from the grip of financial capital and imperialism, which during this, the most criminal of wars, have drenched the world with blood, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets wholeheartedly associates itself with the policy of the present Soviet administration in its repudiation of the secret treaties, in its organisation of the widest possible fraternising between the workers and peasants in the ranks of the opposing armies, and in its efforts to attain at all costs a democratic, workers' peace, secured by revolutionary means—a peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the free self-determination of nations.

5. With the same object, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets insists on the complete repudiation of the barbarous policy of capitalist civilisation, which built up the prosperity of the exploiters in a few privileged nations on the enslavement of millions of labourers in Asia, in the colonies, and in the small nations.

6. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets cordially approves the action of the Council of People's Commissaries in proclaiming the independence of Finland, in beginning the withdrawal of Russian troops from Persia, and in granting to Armenia full self-determination.

#### CHAPTER IV

7. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies considers that now, at the decisive moment in the struggle between the workers and their exploiters, there can be no place for the latter on any organ of government. Power must belong completely and exclusively to the labouring masses and to their true representative bodies—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. At the same time, striving to bring about the really free and voluntary, and therefore the complete and lasting union of the working classes of all the various nationalities of Russia, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets confines itself to formulating the main principles of the federation of Soviet Republics of Russia, leaving to the workers and peasants of each nationality the right to decide freely, at their own national Congress of Soviets, whether they desire, and upon what basis they desire, to participate in the Federal Government and in other federal Soviet institutions.

## PART II

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC

#### CHAPTER V

9. The principal object of the Constitution of the

Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, a Constitution for the present period of transition, consists in the establishment (in the form of a strong Soviet Government) of the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers, combined with the poorer peasantry, to secure the complete suppression of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the establishment of Socialism, under which neither class divisions nor State coercion arising therefrom will any longer exist.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist community of all the workers of Russia. All authority within the Russian Republic is vested in the entire working population of the country, organised in the urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of regions with special and national characteristics of their own may unite in autonomous regional unions, governed (like all other regional unions which may be formed) by regional Congresses of Soviets and their executive organs. These autonomous regional unions enter into the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on a federal basis.

12. Supreme authority in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is vested in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and, during the period between the Congresses, in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

13. To ensure for the workers genuine liberty of conscience, the Church is separated from the State and the school from the Church; and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is assured to every citizen.

14. To ensure for the workers effective liberty of opinion, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic puts

an end to the dependence of the press upon capital; transfers to the working class and to the peasants all the technical and material resources necessary for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, and other printed matter; and guarantees their unobstructed circulation throughout the country.

15. To ensure for the workers complete freedom of meeting, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, recognising the right of its citizens freely to organise meetings, processions, and so on, places at the disposal of the workers and peasants all premises convenient for public gatherings, together with lighting, heating, and furniture.

16. To ensure for the workers full liberty of association, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which has destroyed the economic and political power of the propertied classes, and has thus removed the obstacles which hitherto in capitalist society prevented the workers and peasants from enjoying freedom of association and action, lends to the workers and peasants all its material and moral assistance to help them to unite and to organise themselves.

17. To ensure for the workers effective access to education the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic sets before itself the task of providing for the workers and poorer peasants a complete, universal, and free education.

18. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic proclaims it the duty of all citizens to work, on the principle "He that does not work, neither shall he eat."

19. To safeguard in every possible way the conquests of the great workers' and peasants' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic declares it the duty of all its citizens to defend the Socialist fatherland, and establishes universal military service. The honour of bearing arms in defence of the revolution is granted only to the workers. The leisured sections of the population will fulfil other military duties.

20. Recognising the solidarity of the workers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic extends all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners working within the territory of the Russian Republic, provided that they belong to the working class or to the peasantry working without hired labour. It authorises the local Soviets to confer upon such foreigners, without any annoying formalities, the rights of Russian citizenship.

21. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic grants the right of asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political and religious offences.

22. The Russian Socialist Federal Republic, recognising the equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of race or nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic to institute or tolerate privileges, or any prerogative whatsoever, founded on such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or in any way to limit their rights.

23. In the general interest of the working class, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic deprives individuals and sections of the community of any privileges which may be used by them to the detriment of the Socialist revolution.

## PART III

### A—THE ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

#### CHAPTER VI

*The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers,  
& Peasants, Cossacks and Red Army Deputies.*

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme authority of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

25. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of town Soviets, on the basis of one deputy for every 25,000 electors, and representatives of Provincial Congresses of Soviets, on the basis of one deputy for every 125,000 inhabitants.

*Note 1.*—If a provincial congress of Soviets has not been held before the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, delegates to the latter are sent direct from the country congresses of Soviets.

*Note 2.*—If a regional congress of Soviets immediately precedes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, delegates to the latter may be sent by the regional congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is convened by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets at least twice a year.

27. An extraordinary All-Russian Congress may be convened by All-Russian Central Executive Committee, either on its own initiative, or at the demand of local Soviets representing in the aggregate at least one-third of the total population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets elects the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, consisting of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is responsible in all matters to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the period between the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme authority of the Republic.

#### CHAPTER VII

##### *The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.*

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling body of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the general direction of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and all government organs throughout the country; unifies and coordinates legislative and administrative work; and superintends the application of the Soviet Constitution, the decrees of the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets, and the decisions of the central organs of government.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee examines and ratifies drafts of decrees and other proposals submitted by the Council of People's Commissaries or individual departments; it also issued its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convenes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, to which it

submits a report of its work, together with statements on general policy and on various detailed questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee appoints the Council of People's Commissaries for the general direction of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic; it also appoints the various departments (People's Commissaries), which direct the various branches of administration.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee themselves work in the departments (People's Commissariats), or undertake special work for the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

#### CHAPTER VIII

##### *The Council of People's Commissaries.*

37. With the Council of People's Commissaries rests the general direction of the affairs of the Republic.

38. With this object, the Council of People's Commissaries issues decrees, orders, and instructions; and takes all general measures necessary to secure prompt and orderly administration.

39. The Council of People's Commissaries immediately informs the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and decisions.

40. The All-Russian Executive Committee has the right to annul or suspend any decision or order of the Council of People's Commissaries.

41. All decisions of the Council of People's Commissaries of general political importance are submitted

to be examined and ratified by the Central Executive Committee.

*Note.*—Measures of extreme urgency may be enforced on the sole authority of the Council of People's Commissaries.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissaries are in charge of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are eighteen People's Commissariats, *viz.*, Foreign Affairs; War; Marine; Home Affairs; Justice; Labour; Social Welfare; Education; Posts and Telegraphs; Nationalities; Finance; Transport; Agriculture; Foreign Trade; Food; State Control; Supreme Economic Council; Health.

44. Attached to each People's Commissary, and under his presidency, is a Board, the members of which are confirmed in their appointments by the Council of People's Commissaries.

45. The People's Commissary has the power personally to make decisions on all questions within the scope of his department, informing his Board on the subject. Should the Board disagree with any decision of the People's Commissary, it has the right, without stopping the execution of the decision, to bring the question before the Council of People's Commissaries or the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. This right of appeal belongs to every member of the Board.

46. The Council of People's Commissaries is responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissaries and their Boards are responsible to the Council of People's Commissaries and to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissary belongs exclusively to the members of the Council of People's Commissaries, controlling the general business of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and no other representative of central or local powers may adopt it.

#### CHAPTER IX

##### *The Competence of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.*

49. Within the competence of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee fall all questions of national importance, namely:—

- (a) The ratification, alteration, and supplementing of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.
- (b) The general direction of the external and internal policy of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.
- (c) The determination and alteration of frontiers, with power to detach any territories of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, or to abandon the rights of the Republic in respect thereof.
- (d) The establishment of the boundaries and competence of regional unions of Soviets which are part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the arbitration in disputes which may arise amongst them.

- (e) The admittance of new members into the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and the recognition of the severance of those parts which have left the Russian Federation.
- (f) The determination of the administrative divisions of the territory of the Republic, and the ratification of regional groupings.
- (g) The establishment and modification of the system of weights, measures, and coinage.
- (h) Relations with foreign powers, declaration of war and conclusion of peace.
- (i) The floating of loans, the negotiation of tariff, commercial and financial agreements.
- (j) The establishment of a basis and general outline for the economic life, both as a whole and in its separate branches, of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.
- (k) The adoption of the budget of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.
- (l) The levying of taxes and imposition of public duties.
- (m) The organisation of the armed forces of the Republic.
- (n) Legislation, the organisation of the judicature of criminal and civil jurisdiction.
- (o) The appointment of and recall of both the individual members, the entire council of People's Commissaries, and the confirmation of the appointment of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries.

(p) The publication of general regulations concerning the acquisition or loss of civic rights by Russian citizens, and also the rights of foreigners within the territory of the Republic.

(q) The granting of total or partial amnesties.

50. In addition to the questions enumerated, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee may decide on any other matter which they deem within their jurisdiction.

51. The All-Russian Congress has as its special and exclusive prerogative:—

(a) The power of establishing, supplementing, and modifying the fundamental elements of the Soviet Constitution.

(b) The granting of total or partial amnesties.

52. Questions coming within the scope of clauses (c) and (h) of Article 49 may be dealt with by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only when it is impossible to convene the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

## B.—THE ORGANISATION OF LOCAL SOVIET AUTHORITY.

### CHAPTER X

#### *Congress of Soviets.*

53. The Congresses of Soviets are composed as follows:—

(a) Regional (Oblast) Congresses. These are composed of representatives of town Soviets and of county congresses; in the case of the

latter, in the proportion of one deputy for every 25,000 inhabitants, and in the case of the former, in the proportion of one deputy for every 5,000 electors, with a maximum of 500 deputies for the whole region. They may also be composed of deputies to the provincial congresses of Soviets, elected in the same proportion, if the latter congresses are held immediately before the regional congress.

- (b) Provincial (Gubernia) Congresses. These consist of representatives of the town Soviets and the rural district congresses of Soviets; in the proportion of one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants in the case of the latter, and in the proportion of one deputy for every 2,000 electors, in the case of the former; with a maximum of 300 deputies for the whole province. If the county congresses of Soviets be held immediately before the provincial congress the election takes place on the same principle, not by the rural district congresses but by the county congresses.
- (c) County (Uyezd) Congresses. These are composed of representatives of the village Soviets, in the proportion of one deputy for every 1,000 inhabitants, with a maximum of 300 deputies for the county.
- (d) Rural District (Volost) Congresses. These are composed of representatives of all the village

Soviets of the rural districts, in the proportion of one deputy for every ten members of the Soviet.

*Note 1.*—The county congresses are represented by the Soviets of towns of not more than 10,000 inhabitants. Soviets of villages of not less than 1,000 inhabitants meet together to elect delegates to the county congress.

*Note 2.*—Village Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the Rural District Congress.

54. The Soviet Congresses are convened by the executive organs of Soviet authority, that is to say, the executive committees, either upon their own initiative or at the demand of local Soviets, if these represent at least a third of the population of the locality. In any case, Regional Congresses must be held not less than twice a year, Provincial and County Congresses at least once in three months, and Rural District Congresses at least once a month.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, rural district) elects its own executive committee, with a membership not greater than (a) for regions and provinces, 25; (b) for counties, 20; and (c) for rural districts, 10. The executive committee is responsible to the congress by which it was elected.

56. Within the limits of its administration, every congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, rural district) is the supreme authority within its own territory; between the congresses its authority is vested in its executive committee.

## CHAPTER XI

*Councils of Deputies (Soviets)*

57. Councils of Deputies (Soviets) are elected as follows:—

- (a) In towns—in the proportion of one deputy for every 1,000 inhabitants, with a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 1,000 members.
- (b) In the county (farms, hamlets, villages, encampments, small towns with a population of less than 10,000, mountain valleys)—in the proportion of one deputy for every 100 inhabitants, with a minimum of three, and a maximum of fifty members for each locality. Deputies are elected for a period of three months.

*Note.*—In rural localities, whenever this is possible, questions of administration will be directly decided by the general assembly of the electors of the village concerned.

58. For the transaction of current affairs the Soviet elects an executive committee, composed of not more than five members in the villages, and in the towns with a minimum of three and a maximum of fifteen. (In Petrograd and Moscow, the maximum is forty). The executive committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet by which it was elected.

59. The Soviet is convened by the executive committee on the initiative of the latter, or at the demand of at least half the members of the Soviet, at least once a week in the towns and twice a week in the country.

60. The Soviet, within the limits of the administration or, in the case described in the note to paragraph 57, the general assembly of the electors, constitutes the supreme authority for its locality.

## CHAPTER XII

### *The Competence of the Local Soviet Authorities.*

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural district executive organs, as well as the village Soviets take cognizance of the following:—

- (a) Execution of all instructions issued by the appropriate higher organs of Soviet authority.
- (b) Adoption of all appropriate measures for developing the cultural and economic life of their territory.
- (c) Solution of all questions of purely local importance.
- (d) Unification of all Soviet activities within the limits of their territory.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their executive committees have the right of control over the activities of the local Soviets, *i.e.*, the regional congress exercises control over all the Soviets in its region, the provincial congress has control over all the Soviets in its province, except over those town Soviets which do not enter into the composition of the County Congresses. The regional and provincial congresses together with their executive committees, have the further right of cancelling decisions of Soviets within their respective areas, provided they notify the central Soviet authority in important cases.

63. To ensure the execution of the duties imposed upon the organs of Soviet authority there are created, in connection with every Soviet (town and village) and every executive committee (regional, provincial, county, and rural district) the appropriate departments, under the charge of departmental managers:

## PART IV.

### ELECTORAL RIGHTS.

#### CHAPTER XIII

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets belongs to all citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic without distinction of sex, religion, or nationality and without any residential qualification: provided that on the day of the election they have reached the age of eighteen, and are in one of the following categories:—

- (a) All those who earn their living by productive work useful to society, and those who are engaged in domestic occupations which enable the former to follow their callings, namely, workers and employees of all kinds and categories whether in industry, commerce, agriculture, &c; peasants and labouring cossacks who do not employ others for private gain.
- (b) Soldiers in the army and navy of the Soviet Republic.
- (c) Citizens of the above categories who are incapacitated for work.

*Note 1.*—The local Soviet may, with the approval of the central authority, lower the legal age fixed by this paragraph.

*Note 2.*—In addition to Russian citizens, persons mentioned in paragraph 20 (Part II, Chapter 5) also enjoy electoral rights.

65. The following persons have neither the right to vote nor the right to be elected, even if they are included within one of the above mentioned categories:—

- (a) Those who employ others for the sake of profit.
- (b) Those who live on income not arising from their own labour, interest on capital, industrial enterprises, landed property etc.
- (c) Private business men, agents, middlemen, &c.
- (d) Monks and priests of all religious denominations.
- (e) Agents and employees of the former police, special corps of gendarmerie, and secret service; and also members of the late ruling dynasty of Russia.
- (f) Persons legally recognised as mentally deranged or imbecile; together with those under wardship.
- (g) Persons convicted of infamous or mercenary crimes, during a period fixed by law or by the sentence of the court.

#### CHAPTER XIV

##### *Electoral Procedure.*

66. Elections are conducted according to established practice, on dates fixed by the local Soviet.

67. Elections take place in the presence of an electoral commission and a representative of the local Soviet.

68. Where the presence of a representative of the local Soviet is impossible, his place is taken by the chairman of the electoral commission, and, in his absence, by the chairman of the electoral assembly.

69. A minute is drawn up of the proceedings of the election and of the result of the poll. This is signed by the members of the electoral commission and by the representative of the local Soviet.

70. Details of electoral procedure, and the participation of trade union and other labour organisations, are fixed by the local Soviets, in conformity with instructions issued by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

#### CHAPTER XV

##### *Verification and Annulment of Elections, and Recall of Delegates.*

71. All documents connected with an election are handed over to the Soviet concerned.

72. The electoral results are checked by a credentials commission appointed by the Soviet.

73. This commission reports to the Soviet the result of its inquiry.

74. The Soviet decides as to the validity of a deputy's mandate in the case of a dispute.

75. In the event of the invalidation of any election the Soviet orders a new election.

76. If the election as a whole is irregular, the question of its annulment is decided by the Soviet immediately superior.

77. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the final court of appeal.

78. The electors have the right at any time to recall the delegates whom they have sent to the Soviet, and to proceed to new elections.

## PART V

### CHAPTER XVI

#### *The National Budget.*

79. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, during the present transitory period of the proletarian dictatorship, adopts a financial policy auxiliary to its fundamental aim of the expropriation of the capitalists and the creation of conditions which will secure the equality of all the citizens of the Republic in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it aims at placing at the disposal of the organs of Soviet authority all the resources necessary to satisfy the local and national requirements of the Soviet Republic, encroaching without fear upon the rights of private property.

80. The revenue and the expenditure of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are embodied in a national budget.

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, assesses taxation, determines the sources of public revenue, and allocates its distribution between the State and the local Soviets.

82. The Soviets can only impose taxation for purely local needs; needs of a general and national character are met by grants from the State Treasury.

83. No expenditure may be made of money from the funds of the State Treasury without an authorised credit in respect thereof in the State estimates, or a special order of the central authority.

84. Credits with the State Treasury, required for purposes of national importance, are opened to local Soviets by order of the appropriate People's Commissary.

85. All credits granted by the State Treasury to the Soviets, as well as those allocated by local estimates for purely local requirements, must be expended directly and according to the programme, by paragraphs and clauses, laid down in the estimates; and they cannot be diverted to any other purpose without a special decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Council of People's Commissaries.

86. The local Soviets prepare half-yearly and yearly estimates for local needs. The estimates of village Soviets, the rural district executive committees, and of those town Soviets which participate in the county congresses, together with the estimates of the county Soviet authorities, are ratified by the respective provincial and regional congresses, or the executive committees of the latter. The estimates of the town, provincial, and regional Soviet authorities, are ratified by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries.

87. For expenditure not provided for in the estimates, and in cases where the sum allocated by the estimates is

insufficient, the Soviets apply for supplementary credits to the appropriate People's Commissariats.

88. Should local resources prove insufficient for local needs, subsidies or loans from the State Treasury to the local Soviets to cover urgent expenditure are authorised by the All-Russian Executive Committee and by the Council of People's Commissaries.

## PART VI

### THE ARMS AND FLAG OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC

#### CHAPTER XVII

89. The arms of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consist of a sickle and a hammer, gold upon a red field and in the rays of the sun, the handles crossed and turned downwards; the whole surrounded by a wreath of ears of corn, with the inscription:—

(a) "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic,"  
and

(b) "Workers of all Countries, Unite!"

90. The commercial, naval, and military flag of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of red (scarlet) material, on the upper corner of which, near the staff, are the letters in gold "R.S.F.S.R." or the inscription "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic".

## APPENDIX II

### THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

(DECEMBER 1936)

#### CHAPTER I

##### *Social Organisation*

ARTICLE 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a Socialist State of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2. The political foundation of the USSR is formed by the Soviets of toilers' deputies which have grown and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquests of the directorship of the proletariat.

ARTICLE 3. All power in the USSR belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of soviets of toilers' deputies.

ARTICLE 4. The economic foundation of the USSR consists in the Socialist system of economy and Socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

ARTICLE 5. Socialist ownership in the USSR has either the form of State ownership (public property) or the form of cooperation and collective farms (property of Co-operative associations).

ARTICLE 6. The land, its deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railway, water and air transport, bank, means of communication, large agricultural enterprises

organised by the State (State farms, machine and tractor stations, and so on), as well as the essential part of housing in the cities and industrial centres, is State property, that is, public property.

ARTICLE 7. Public enterprises in collective farms and Cooperative organisations, with their livestock and implements, products produced by the collective farms and Cooperative organisations, as well as their public buildings, constitute the public, Socialist property of the collective farms and Co-operative organisations.

Each collective farm household has for its own use a plot **of land attached to the household** and, as individual property, subsidiary establishments on the land attached to the household, a house, productive live-stock and poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

ARTICLE 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for use without time limit, that is, in perpetuity.

ARTICLE 9. Alongside the Socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the USSR, the law allows small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on individual labour and excluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

ARTICLE 10. The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work and savings, home and auxiliary household economy, of objects of domestic and household economy as well as objects of personal use and comfort are protected by law.\*

ARTICLE 11. The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the national economic State plan for the purposes of increasing public wealth, of a steady

rise in the material and cultural level of the toilers, of strengthening the independence of the USSR and its defence capacity.

ARTICLE 12. Work in the USSR is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle: "He who does not work shall not eat." In the USSR the principle of Socialism is being realised: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

## CHAPTER II

### *State Organisation*

ARTICLE 13. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Soviet Socialist Republics with equal rights:—

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,  
 Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,  
 Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 14. The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme organs of power and organs of State administration, extends to:

- (a) Representation of Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other States;

- (b) questions of war and peace;
- (c) admission of new republics into the USSR;
- (d) control of the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and ensuring conformity of the constitutions of the Union republics with the Constitution of the USSR;
- (e) approval of alterations of boundaries between Union republics;
- (f) organisation of the defence of USSR and the direction of all the armed forces of the USSR;
- (g) foreign trade on the basis of the state monopoly;
- (h) protection of state security;
- (i) establishment of the national economic plans of the USSR;
- (j) approval of the unified state budget of the USSR as well as the taxes and revenues entering into the USSR Union-republic, and local budgets;
- (k) administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments as well as trading enterprises of all-Union importance;
- (l) administration of transport and means of communication;
- (m) direction of the monetary and credit system;
- (n) organisation of the State insurance of property;
- (o) contracting and granting loans;

- (*p*) establishment of the fundamental principles for the use of land as well as the exploitation of deposits, forests and waters;
- (*q*) establishment of the fundamental principles in the fields of education and protection of public health;
- (*r*) organisation of a unified system of national economic accounting;
- (*s*) establishment of basic labour laws;
- (*t*) legislation on judicature and legal procedure, criminal and civil codes;
- (*u*) laws on citizenship of the Union, laws on the rights of foreigners;
- (*v*) passing all-Union amnesty Acts.

ARTICLE 15. The sovereignty of the Union republics is restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of these limits, each Union republic exercises independently its State power. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union republics.

ARTICLE 16. Every Union republic has its own constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR.

ARTICLE 17. Each Union republic retains its right freely to secede from the USSR.

ARTICLE 18. The territory of the Union republics may not be changed without their consent.

ARTICLE 19. The laws of the USSR have the same force in the territories of all Union republics.

ARTICLE 20. In the event of a law of Union republic differing from an all-Union law the all-Union law is operative.

ARTICLE 21. A single Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the USSR. Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the USSR.

ARTICLE 22. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the following Territories: Azov-Black Sea, Far East, West Siberia, Krasnoyarsk. North Caucasus, Provinces: Voronezh, East Siberia, Gorky, Western Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl; Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics: Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buryat-Mongolia, Kabardino, Crimea, Marii, Mordva, Volga German, North Osetia, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash, Yakut; Autonomous Provinces: Adyghe, Jewish Karachayev, Oirats, Khakass, Cherkess.

ARTICLE 23. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the following provinces: Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov, Chernigov, and the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 24. The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province.

ARTICLE 25. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian ASSR, Adjara ASSR, South Osetian Autonomous Province.

ARTICLE 26. The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Karakalpak ASSR.

ARTICLE 27. The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorno-Badkhash Autonomous Province.

ARTICLE 28. The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the following provinces: Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan. West Kazakhstan, Karaganda, South Kazakhstan.

ARTICLE 29. The Armenian SSR, White Russian SSR, Turkmenian SSR, and Kirghiz SSR, do not include any autonomous republics or territories and provinces.

### CHAPTER III

#### *The Supreme Organs of State Power of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.*

ARTICLE 30. The supreme organ of State power of the USSR, is the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 31. The Supreme Council of the USSR exercises all rights vested in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics according to Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not enter, by virtue of the Constitution, into the competence of those organs of the USSR, subordinate to the Supreme Council of the USSR; the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, the Council of People's Commissariates of the USSR.

ARTICLE 32. The legislative power of the USSR is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 33. The Supreme Council of the USSR consists of two chambers: the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 34. The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the USSR on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 of population.

ARTICLE 35. The Council of Nationalities consists of deputies appointed by the Supreme Councils of the Union

and autonomous republics and Soviet of toilers' deputies in the autonomous provinces, on the basis of ten deputies from each Union republic, five deputies from each autonomous province.

ARTICLE 36. The Supreme Council of the USSR is elected for a period of four years. •

ARTICLE 37. Both chambers of the supreme Council of the USSR, the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities, have equal rights.

ARTICLE 38. Legislative initiative belongs in equal degree to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 39. A law is considered approved if adopted by both chambers of the Supreme Council of the USSR by simple majority vote in each.

ARTICLE 40. Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the USSR are published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 41. Sessions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities begin and terminate concurrently.

ARTICLE 42. The Council of the Union elect the chairman of the Council of the Union and two vice-chairmen.

ARTICLE 44. The chairman of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities direct the sessions of the corresponding chambers and regulate their inner arrangements.

ARTICLE 45. Joint sessions of both chambers of the Supreme Council of the USSR are directed in turn by the chairman of the Council of the Union and the chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 46. Sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR are convened by the Presidium of the Council of the USSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR at its direction or in the demand of one of the Union republics.

ARTICLE 47. In case of disagreement between the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission established on the basis of equal representation. If the conciliation commission does not come to an agreement upon a decision, or if its decision does not satisfy one of the chambers, the question is considered for a second time in the chambers. In the event of the two chambers not agreeing upon a decision, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR dissolves the Supreme Council of the USSR and fixes new elections.

ARTICLE 48. The Supreme Council of the USSR elects, at a joint session of both chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR composed of the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, four vice-chairmen, the secretary of the Presidium and 31 members of the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR is accountable to the Supreme Council of the USSR in all its activities.

ARTICLE 49. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

(a) convenes sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

(b) interprets laws in operation by issuing appropriate instructions;

- (c) dissolves the Supreme Council of the USSR on the basis of Article 47 of the Constitution of the USSR and fixes new elections;
- (d) conducts a referendum on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union republics;
- (e) rescinds decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Councils of People's Commissars of the republics in the event that they are not in accordance with the law;
- (f) between sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR relieves of their duties and appoints the various People's Commissars of the USSR at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to be later submitted for confirmation by the Supreme Council of the USSR.
- (g) awards decorations of the USSR.
- (h) exercises the right of pardon;
- (i) appoints and replaces the supreme command of the armed force of the USSR.
- (j) between sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR declares a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the USSR;
- (k) declares general or partial mobilisation;
- (l) ratifies international treaties;
- (m) appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign States;
- (n) accepts the credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign States.

ARTICLE 50. The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities elect Credential Commissions which verify the authorisation of the deputies of each chamber.

On representation from the Credential Commission the chambers decide either to recognise the authorisation or annul the elections of the individual deputies.

ARTICLE 51. The Supreme Council of the USSR appoints, when it deems necessary, investigating and auditing commissions on any question.

All institutions and officials are obliged to comply with the demands of these commissions and to supply them with the necessary materials and documents.

ARTICLE 52. A deputy of the Supreme Council of the USSR cannot be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Council of the USSR and, in the period when the Council of the USSR is not in session, without the agreement of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 53. After the authority of the Supreme Council of the USSR has expired or after the Supreme Council has been dissolved before the expiration of its term the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR preserve its authority until the formation by the newly-elected Supreme Council of the USSR of a new Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 54. When the authority of the Supreme Council of the USSR expires or in the event of its dissolution before the expiration of its term, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR fixes new elections within a period of not more than two months from the date of expiration of its authority or the dissolution of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

ARTICLE 55. The newly-elected Supreme Council of the USSR is convened by the former Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR not later than a month after the elections.

ARTICLE 56. The Supreme Council of the USSR at a joint session of both chambers forms the Government of the USSR—the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### *Supreme Organs of the State Power of the Union Republics*

ARTICLE 57. The supreme organ of State power of a Union republic is the Supreme Council of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 58. The Supreme Council of the Union republic is elected by citizens of the republic for a period of four years.

The ratio of representation is determined by the constitutions of the Union republics.

ARTICLE 59. The Supreme Council of the Union republic is the sole legislative organ of the republic.

ARTICLE 60. The Supreme Council of the Union republic:—

- (a) Adopts the constitution of the republic and amends it in accordance with Article 16 of the Constitution of the USSR;
- (b) ratifies the constitutions of the autonomous republics belonging to it and defines the boundaries of their territories;
- (c) approves the national economic plan and budget of the republic.

(d) exercises the right of amnesty and pardon to citizens sentenced by judicial organs of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 61. The Supreme Council of the Union republic elects a Presidium of the Council of the Union republic composed of: The chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union republic, his deputies, and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union republic.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of a Union republic are determined by the constitution of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 62. The Supreme Council of the Union republic elects the chairman and his deputies to conduct its meetings.

ARTICLE 63. The Supreme Council of the Union republic organises the government of the Union republic—the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

#### CHAPTER V

#### *Organs of State Administration of the Union of Soviet Republics*

ARTICLE 64. The Supreme Executive and administrative organ of State power in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

ARTICLE 65. The Council of the People's Commissars of the USSR is responsible to the Supreme Council of the USSR and accountable to it.

ARTICLE 66. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR issues decisions and orders on the basis of and

in fulfilment of laws in effect and controls their execution.

ARTICLE 67. Decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR have obligatory force and must be carried out throughout the entire territory of the USSR.

ARTICLE 68. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR:—

- (a) Unites and directs the work of the all-Union and Union-republic people's commissariats of the USSR and of other economic and cultural institutions under its jurisdiction;
- (b) takes measures to realise the national economic plan and State budget and to strengthen the credit-monetary system;
- (c) takes measures to ensure public order, to defend the interest of the State and to safeguard the rights of citizens;
- (d) exercises general direction in the realm of relations with foreign States;
- (e) determines the annual contingent of citizens subject to be called for active military service and directs the general upbuilding of the armed forces of the country.

ARTICLE 69. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR has the right in respect to those branches of administration and economy which fall within the jurisdiction of the USSR to suspend decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republics and

to annul orders and instructions of the People's Commissars of the USSR.

ARTICLE 70. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is formed by the Supreme Council of the USSR and is composed as follows:—

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR;

The Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission;

The People's Commissars of the USSR;

The Chairman of the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products;

The Chairman of the Art Committee;

The Chairman of the Committee for Higher Education.

ARTICLE 71. The Government of the USSR or the People's Commissars of the USSR to whom any question of a deputy of the Supreme Council is addressed is obliged to give an oral or written reply in the respective chamber within a period of not more than three days.

ARTICLE 72. People's Commissars of the USSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

ARTICLE 73. The People's Commissars of the USSR issue within the limits of jurisdiction of the respective People's Commissariats orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of laws in effect, as well as of decisions

and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and verify their fulfilment.

ARTICLE 74. The People's Commissariats of the USSR are either All-Union or Union-republic.

ARTICLE 75. The All-Union People's Commissariats direct the branch of a State administration entrusted to the entire territory of the USSR, either directly or through organisation assigned by them.

ARTICLE 76. Union-republic People's Commissariats direct the branch of a State administration entrusted to them through identically named People's Commissariat of the Union republics.

ARTICLE 77. The following People's Commissariats comprise the All-Union Peoples' Commissariats:—

Defence; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Trade; Railways; Communication; Water; Transport; Heavy Industry.

ARTICLE 78. The following People's Commissariats comprise the Union-republic People's Commissariats:—

Food Industry; Light Industry; Timber Industry; Agriculture; State Grain and Livestock Farms; Finance; Home Trade; Home Affairs; Justice; Health.

#### CHAPTER VI

##### *Organ of State Administration of the Union Republics.*

ARTICLE 79. The supreme executive and administrative organ of State power of a Union republic is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 80. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic is responsible to the Supreme Council of the Union republic and is accountable to it.

ARTICLE 81. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic issues decisions and orders on the basis of

and in fulfilment of the laws in effect in the USSR and the Union republic, and of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and verifies their execution.

ARTICLE 82. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of autonomous republics and to rescind decisions and orders of executive committees of soviets of toilers' deputies of territories, provinces and autonomous provinces.

ARTICLE 83. The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic is formed by the Supreme Council of the Union republic, and is composed of:—

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic; The vice-Chairman; The Chairman of the State Planning Commission; People's Commissars; Of the Food Industry; Of Light Industry; Of the Timber Industry; Of Agriculture; Of State Grain and Livestock Farm; Of Finance; Of Home Trade; Of Home Affairs; Of Justice; Of Health; Of Education; Of Local Industry; Of Communal Economy; Of Social Welfare; A representative of the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products; Chief of the Art Administration; Representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats.

ARTICLE 84. The People's Commissars of a Union republic administer branches of the State administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 85. The People's Commissars of a Union republic issue within the limits of jurisdiction of respective People's Commissariats orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of the laws of the USSR and the Union republic, decisions and orders of the Council of People's

Commissars of the USSR and the Union republic and of orders and instructions of the Union republic People's Commissariat of the USSR.

ARTICLE 86. The People's Commissariats of a Union republic are either Union-republic or republic.

ARTICLE 87. Union-republic People's Commissariats administer the branch of a State administration entrusted to them, being subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissariat of the Union republic and corresponding Union republic People's Commissariat of the USSR.

ARTICLE 88. Republic People's Commissariats administer the branch of a State administration entrusted to them, being subordinated directly to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

#### CHAPTER VII

#### *Supreme Organs of a State Power of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic.*

ARTICLE 89. The supreme organs of State power of an autonomous republic is the Supreme Council of the ASSR.

ARTICLE 90. The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic is elected by the citizens of the republic for a period of four years in the ratio of representation established by the constitution of autonomous republic.

ARTICLE 91. The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic is the sole legislative organ of the ASSR.

ARTICLE 92. Each autonomous republic has its constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the autonomous republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the constitution of the Union republic.

ARTICLE 93. The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the

autonomous republic and forms a Council of People's Commissars of the autonomous republic in accordance with its constitution.

#### CHAPTER VIII

#### *Local Organs of State Power*

ARTICLE 94. The organs of State power in territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts, cities and villages (stanitsas, khutors, kishlaks, auls) are soviets of toilers' deputies.

ARTICLE 95. The soviets of toilers' deputies of territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts cities and villages (stanitsas, khutors, kishlaks, auls) are elected by the toilers of the respective territory, province, autonomous province, region, district, city or village for a period of two years.

ARTICLE 96. The ratio of representation in the soviets of toilers' deputies are determined by the constitutions of the Union republics.

ARTICLE 97. The soviets of toilers' deputies direct the activities of the organs of administration subordinated to them, ensure the maintenance of State order, observation of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, carry out local economic and cultural construction and draw up the local budget.

ARTICLE 98. The soviets of toilers' deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR and the Union republic.

ARTICLE 99. The executive and administrative organs of the soviets of toilers' deputies of the territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts and cities are the

executive committees elected by them, composed of the chairman, the vice-chairman and members.

ARTICLE 100. The executive and administrative organ of the village soviets of toilers' deputies in small localities, in accordance with the constitutions of the Union republics, are the chairman, vice-chairman and members elected by them.

ARTICLE 101. The executive organs of the soviets of toilers' deputies are directly accountable both to the soviets of toilers' deputies which elected them and to the executive organ of the higher soviet of toilers' deputies.

## CHAPTER IX

### *Court and Prosecution*

ARTICLE 102. Justice in the USSR is administrated by the Supreme Court of the USSR, the supreme courts of the Union republics, territory and province courts, courts of the autonomous provinces, special courts of the USSR which are created by decision of the Supreme Council of the USSR and People's Courts.

ARTICLE 103. In all courts, cases are tried with the participation of the people's associate judges, with the exception of cases specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE 104. The Supreme Court of the USSR is the highest judicial organ. It is charged with supervision of the activity of all judicial organs of the USSR and Union republics.

ARTICLE 105. The Supreme Court of the USSR and special courts of the USSR are elected by the Supreme Council of the USSR for a period of five years.

ARTICLE 106. The Supreme Courts of the Union republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Union republics for a period of five years.

ARTICLE 107. The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are elected by the Supreme Council of the autonomous republics for five years.

ARTICLE 108. Territory and province courts, and courts of the autonomous provinces are elected by territory or province soviets of toilers' deputies or by soviets of toilers' deputies of the autonomous provinces for a period of five years.

ARTICLE 109. People's Courts are elected by secret ballot for a period of three years by citizens of the district, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage.

ARTICLE 110. Court proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union or autonomous republic or autonomous province, persons not knowing this language being ensured the possibility of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter, as well as having the right to address the court in their native language.

ARTICLE 111. In all courts of the USSR cases are heard openly, except when otherwise provided for by law, and the accused person is ensured the right of defence.

ARTICLE 112. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 113. Highest supervision of the exact observance of the laws by all People's Commissariats and institutions under them, as well as by individual persons holding official posts, and also by citizens of the USSR, is vested in the Prosecutor of the USSR.

ARTICLE 114. The Prosecutor of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Council of the USSR for a period of seven years.

ARTICLE 115. Prosecutors of republics, territories and provinces, as well as prosecutors of autonomous republics and autonomous provinces,, are appointed by the Prosecutor of the USSR for a period of five years.

ARTICLE 116. District prosecutors are appointed for a period of five years by the prosecutors of the Union republics with the approval of the Prosecutor of the USSR.

ARTICLE 117. The organs of prosecution perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being responsible to the Prosecutor of the USSR alone.

## CHAPTER X

### *Basic Rights and Obligations of Citizens*

ARTICLE 118. Citizens of the USSR have the right to work—the right to receive guaranteed work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the Socialist organisation of natural economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

ARTICLE 119. Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest.

The right to rest is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, establishment of annual vacations with pay for workers and employees, and provision for a wide network of sanatoriums, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the toilers.

ARTICLE 120. Citizens of the USSR have the right to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work.

This right is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State, free medical aid, and the provision of a wide net-work of health resorts for the use of the toilers.

ARTICLE 121. Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

The right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education, free of charge, including higher education, by the system of State stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in higher schools, instruction in schools in the native language, and organisation of free industrial, technical and agronomic education for the toilers at the factories, State farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms.

ARTICLE 122. Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all fields of economic, State, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of realising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education, State protection of the interests of mother and child, granting pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide net-work of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

ARTICLE 123. The equality of the rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all fields of economic, State, cultural, social and political life, is an irrevocable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or conversely the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of the race or nationality to which they belong, as well as any propagation of racial or national exceptionalism or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

ARTICLE 124. To ensure to citizens freedom of conscience the church in the USSR is separated from the State, and the school from the church. Freedom to perform religious rites and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

ARTICLE 125. In accordance with the interests of the toilers, for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed:

- (a) freedom of speech;
- (b) freedom of the press;
- (c) freedom of assembly and meetings;
- (d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

The rights of the citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organisations printing presses, supplies of paper, public building, streets, means of communication, and other material conditions necessary for their realisation.

ARTICLE 126. In accordance with the interests of the toilers, and for the purpose of developing the organisational self-expression and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the USSR are ensured the right of combining in public organisations, trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organisations, sport and defence organisations, cultural, technical, and scientific societies, and for the

most active and conscientious citizens from the ranks of the working class and other strata of the toilers, of uniting in the Communist Party of the USSR which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle for strengthening and developing the socialist system and which represents the leading nucleus of all organisations of the toilers, both public and state.

ARTICLE 127. The citizens of the USSR are ensured the inviolability of the person. No one may be subjected to arrest except upon the decision of a court or with the sanction of the prosecutor.

ARTICLE 128. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and the secrecy of the correspondence are protected by law.

ARTICLE 129. The USSR grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activity or for their struggle for national liberation.

ARTICLE 130. Every citizen of the USSR is obliged to observe the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to carry out the laws, observe labour discipline, honestly fulfil his social duties, and respect the rules of the Socialist community.

ARTICLE 131. Every citizen of the USSR is obliged to safeguard and consolidate public Socialist property as the sacred inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of wealth and might of the fatherland, as the source of the prosperous cultural life of all the toilers. Persons attempting to violate public Socialist property are enemies of the people.

ARTICLE 132. Universal military service is the law. Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army represents the honourable duty of the citizens of the USSR.

ARTICLE 133. The defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason to the fatherland: violation of oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military might of the State, espionage for a foreign State, is punishable with the full severity of the law as the most heinous crime.

#### CHAPTER XIII

##### *Electoral System*

ARTICLE 134. Deputies to all Soviets of toilers' deputies, the Supreme Council of the USSR, Supreme Councils of the Union republics, territorial and province Soviets of toilers' deputies, Supreme Councils of autonomous republics, regional, district, city and village Soviets of toilers' deputies (stanitsas, villages, khutors, kishlaks, auls), are elected by the electors on the basis of universal equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 135. Elections of the deputies are universal: all citizens of the USSR who in the year of the elections reach the age of 18 have the right to participate in elections of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the mentally deficient and persons deprived of electoral rights by the Courts.

ARTICLE 136. Elections of deputies are equal: every citizen has the right to elect and be elected irrespective of his race or nationality, his religion, educational qualifications, his social origin, property status, and past activity.

ARTICLE 137. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

ARTICLE 138. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

ARTICLE 139. Elections of deputies are direct: elections to all Soviets of toilers' deputies from the village and city Soviets of toilers' deputies up to the Supreme Council of the USSR are effected by the citizens voting directly.

ARTICLE 140. Voting at election of deputies is secret.

ARTICLE 141. Candidates are put forward for election according to electoral districts.

The right to put forward candidates is granted to social organisations and societies of the toilers: Communist Party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations and cultural societies.

ARTICLE 142. Every deputy is obliged to render account to the electors of his work and the work of the soviet of toilers' deputies, and he may at any time be recalled in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors.

#### CHAPTER XIV

##### *Emblem, Flag, Capital*

ARTICLE 143. The State emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of a hammer and sickle against a globe depicted in rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain with the inscription "Workers of the World, Unite!" in the languages of the Union republics. Above the emblem is a five-pointed star.

ARTICLE 144. The State flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is red cloth with the hammer and sickle depicted in fold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The relation of the width to the length is one to two and half.

ARTICLE 145. The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the city of Moscow.

CHAPTER XV

*Procedure for Amending the Constitution*

ARTICLE 146. Amendment of the Constitution of the USSR is effected only by the decision of the Supreme Council of the USSR when adopted by majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes in each of its chambers.

## APPENDIX III

### Pandit Jawahar Lal's Faizpur Address December, 1936.

COMRADES,—Eight and a half months ago I addressed you from this tribune and now, at your bidding, I am here again. I am grateful to you for this repeated expression of your confidence, deeply sensible of the love and affection that have accompanied it, somewhat over-burdened by this position of high honour and authority that you would have me occupy again, and yet I am fearful of this responsibility. Men and women, who have to carry the burden of responsible positions in the world today, have a heavy and unenviable task and many are unable to cope with it. In India that task is as heavy as anywhere else and if the present is full of difficulty, the veil of the future hides perhaps vaster and more intricate problems. Is it surprising then that I accept your gracious gift with hesitation?

Before we consider the problems that face us, we must give thought to our comrades—those who have left us during these past few months and those who languish year after year, often with no end in prospect, in prison and detention camp. Two well-beloved colleagues have gone—Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abbas Tyabji, the bearers of names honoured in Congress history, dear to all of us as friends and comrades, brave and wise counsellors in times of difficulty.

To our comrades in prison or in detention we send greeting. Their travail continues and it grows, and only recently we have heard with horror of the suicide of three detenues who found life intolerable for them in the fair

province of Bengal, whose young men and women in such large numbers live in internment without end. We have an analogy elsewhere, in Nazi Germany where concentration camps flourish and suicides are not uncommon.

Soon after the last Congress I had to nominate the Working Committee and I included in this our comrade, Subhas Chandra Bose. But you know how he was snatched away from us on arrival at Bombay and ever since then he has been kept in internment despite failing health. Our Committee has been deprived of his counsel, and I have missed throughout the year this brave comrade on whom we all counted so much. Helplessly we watch this crushing of our men and women, but this helplessness in the present steels our resolve to end this intolerable condition of our people.

One who was not with us at Lucknow has come back to us after long internment and prison. We offer cordial welcome to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan for his own brave self as well as for the sake of the people of the Frontier Province whom he has so effectively and gallantly led in India's struggle for freedom. But though he is with us, he may not, so the orders of the British Government in India run, go back home or enter his province or even the Punjab. And in that province of his the Congress organisation is still illegal and most political activities prevented.

I must also offer on your behalf warm welcome to one who, though young, is an old and well-trying soldier in India's fight for freedom. Comrade M. N. Roy has just come to us after a long and most distressing period in prison, but, though shaken up in body, he comes with fresh mind and heart, eager to take his part in that old struggle that knows no end till it ends in success.

The elements have been unusually cruel to us during these past few months and famine and floods and droughts have afflicted many provinces and brought great suffering to millions of our people. Recently a great cyclone descended on Guntur district in the South causing tremendous damage and rendering large numbers homeless, with all their belongings destroyed. We may not complain of this because the elements are still largely beyond human control. But the wit of man can find a remedy for recurring floods due to known causes, and make provision for the consequences of droughts and the like, and organise adequate relief for the victims of natural catastrophies. But that wit is lacking among those who control our destinies, and our people, always living on the verge of utter destitution, can face no additional shock without going under.

We are all engrossed in India at present in the provincial elections that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties us up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world. Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe fascism has been pursuing its

triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war. We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see today the horror and tragedy of Spain.

How has this fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world? To understand this one must seek a clue in British foreign policy. This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to cooperate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of the League and in defence of collective security, but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open to fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and ever the British 'National' Government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here again while fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention apparently

designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower today than it has ever been for many generations.

So in the world today these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labour for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle today is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, fascist domination or the scorching of fascism and imperialism. That struggle has many lessons for us, and perhaps the most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflicts and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it. For them democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interests. When it fails to do this, they have no further use for it and try to break it up. And in their attempt to break it, they do not scruple to use any and every method, to ally themselves with foreign and anti-national forces. Calling themselves nationalists and patriots, they

employ mercenary armies of foreigners to kill their own kith and kin and enslave their own people.

In Spain today our battles are being fought and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. We have seen our hopes wither and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hope of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph. So many have died, men and women, boys and girls, that the Spanish Republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of the walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

So I would like to stress before you, as I did before, this organic connection between world events, this action and interaction between one and the other. Thus we shall understand a little this complicated picture of the world today, a unity in spite of its amazing diversity and conflicts. In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much part of this great

world conflict as India's struggle for freedom. Democracy and fascism, nationalism and imperialism, socialism and a decaying capitalism, combat each other in the world of ideas, and this conflict develops on the material plane and bayonets and bombs take the place of votes in the struggle for power. Changing conditions in the world demand a new political and economic orientation and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict. Gradually this leads to a revolution in the minds of men and this seeks to materialise, and every delay in this change-over lead to further conflict. The existing equilibrium having gone, giving place to no other, there is deterioration, reaction, and disaster. It is disaster that faces us in the world today and war on a terrible scale is an ever present possibility. Except for the fascist Powers every country and people dreads this war and yet they all prepare for it feverishly, and in doing so they line up on this side or that. The middle groups fade out or, ghost-like they flit about, unreal, disillusioned, self-tortured, ever-doubting. That has been the fate of the old liberalism everywhere, though in India perhaps those who call themselves Liberals, and others who think in their way, have yet to come out of the fog of complacency that envelops them.

But we

“Move with new desires.

For where we used to build and love

Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live

Between two fires.”

What are these new desires? The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions; to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people and

utilise them for the progress and betterment of humanity; to build where today we destroy. During the past eight months I have wandered a great deal in this vast land of ours and I have seen again the throbbing agony of India's masses, the call of their eyes for relief from the terrible burdens they carry. That is our problem; all others are secondary and merely lead up to it. To solve that problem we shall have to end the imperialistic control and exploitation of India. But what is this imperialism of today? It is not merely the physical possession of one country by another; its roots lie deeper. Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and cannot be separated from it.

It is because of this that we cannot understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy and that remedy is the socialist structure of society. We do not fight for socialism in India today for we have to go far before we can act in terms of socialism, but socialism comes in here and now to help us to understand our problem and point out the path to its solution, and to tell us the real content of the swaraj to come. With no proper understanding of the problem, our actions are likely to be erratic, purposeless and ineffective.

The Congress stands today for full democracy in India and fights for a *democratic State, not for socialism*. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us to day is political independence and the establishment of a democratic State. And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must

stand for world peace. Recently there has taken place in Europe a significant development in the peace movement. The World Peace Congress, held at Brussels in September last, brought together numerous mass organisations on a common platform and gave an effective lead for peace. Whether this lead will succeed in averting war, no one can say, but all lovers of peace will welcome it and wish it success. Our Congress was ably represented at Brussels by Shri V. K. Kishna Menon and the report that he has sent us is being placed before you. I trust that the Congress will associate itself fully with the permanent peace organisation that is being built up and assist all its strength in this great task. In doing so we must make our own position perfectly clear. For us, and we think for the world, the problem of peace cannot be separated from imperialism, and in order to remove the root cause of war, imperialism must go. We believe in the sanctity of treaties but we cannot consider ourselves bound by treaties in the making of which the people of India had no part, unless we accept them in due course. The problem of maintaining peace cannot be isolated by us, in our present condition, from war resistance. The Congress has already decided that we can be no parties to an imperialist war, and we will not allow the exploitation of India's man power and resources for such a war. Any such attempt will be resisted by us.

The League of Nations has fallen very low and there are few who take it seriously as an instrument for the preservation of peace. India has no enthusiasm for it whatever and the Indian membership of the League is a farce, for the selection of delegates is made by the British Government. We must work for a real League of Nations, democratically constructed, which would in

effect be a League of Peoples. If even the present League, ineffective and powerless as it is, can be used in favour of peace, we shall welcome it.

With this international back-ground in view, let us consider our national problems. The Government of India Act of 1935, the new Constitution, stares at us offensively, this new charter of bondage which has been imposed upon us despite our utter rejection of it, and we are preparing to fight elections under it. Why we have entered into this election contest and how we propose to follow it up has been fully stated in the Election Manifesto of the All-India Congress Committee, and I commend this manifesto for your adoption. We go to the legislatures not to cooperate with the apparatus of British imperialism, but to combat the Act and seek to end it, and to resist in every way British imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. That is the basic policy of the Congress and no Congressman, no candidate for election, must forget this. Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. We are not going to the legislatures to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism.

There is a certain tendency to compromise over these elections, to seek a majority at any cost. This is a dangerous drift and must be stopped. The elections must be used to rally the masses to the Congress standard, to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress.

With the effort to fight the Act, and as a corollary to it, we have to stress our positive demand for a Constituent Assembly elected under adult suffrage. That is the very corner-stone of Congress policy today and our election campaign must be based on it. This Assembly must not be conceived as something emanating from the British Government or as a compromise with British imperialism. If it is to have any reality, it must have the will of the people behind it and the organised strength of the masses to support it, and the power to draw up the constitution of a free India. We have to create that mass support for it through these elections and later through our other activities.

The Working Committee has recommended to this Congress that a *Convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures, and such other persons as the Committee might wish to add to them*, should meet soon after the election to put forward the demand for the Constituent Assembly, and determine how to oppose, by all feasible methods, the introduction of the Federal structure of the Act. Such a Convention, which must include the members of the All-India Congress Committee, should help us greatly in focussing our struggle and giving it proper direction in the legislatures and outside. It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all-India discipline, and it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale. The idea is full of big possibility and I trust that the Congress will approve of it.

Next to this demand for the Constituent Assembly, our most important task will be to oppose the Federal structure of the Act. Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so

bad in it as this Federation and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole. To live not only under British imperialist exploitation but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate whatever the consequences. It is an interesting and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavour to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. We are not against the conception of a federation. It is likely that a free India may be a federal India, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country. The present Indian States took shape early in the nineteenth century in the unsettled conditions of early British rule. The treaties with their autocratic rulers, which are held up to us so often now as sacred documents which may not be touched, date from that period.

It is worthwhile comparing the state of Europe then with that of India. In Europe then there were numerous tiny kingdoms and princedoms, kings were autocratic, holy alliances and royal prerogative flourished. Slavery was legal. During these hundred years and more Europe has changed out of recognition. As a result of numerous revolutions and changes the princedoms have gone and very few kings remain. Slavery has gone. Modern industry has spread and democratic institutions have grown up with an

ever-widening franchise. These in their turn have given place in some countries to fascist dictatorships. Backward Russia, with one mighty jump, has established a Soviet Socialist State and an economic order which has resulted in tremendous progress in all directions. The world has gone on changing and hovers on the brink of yet another vast change. But not so the Indian States; they remain static in this ever-changing panorama, staring at us with the eyes of the early nineteenth century. The old treaties are sacrosanct, treaties made not with the people or their representatives but with their autocratic rulers.

This is a state of affairs which no nation, no people can tolerate. We cannot recognise these old settlements of more than a hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging. The Indian States will have to fit into the scheme of a free India and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.

Till recent years little was heard of the treaties of the States or of paramountcy. The rulers knew their proper places in the imperial scheme of things and the heavy hand of the British Government was always in evidence. But the growth of the national movement in India gave them a fictitious importance, for the British Government began to rely upon them more and more to help it in combating this nationalism. The rulers and their ministers were quick to notice the change in the angle of vision and to profit by it. They tried to play, not without success, the British Government and the Indian people against each other and to gain advantages from both. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have gained extraordinary power under the federal scheme. Having preserved themselves as autocratic

units, which are wholly outside the control of the rest of India, they have gained power over other parts of India. Today we find them talking as if they were independent and laying down conditions for their adherence to the Federation. There is talk even of the abolition of the viceregal paramountcy, so that these States may remain, alone in the whole world, naked and unchecked autocracies, which cannot be tampered with by any constitutional means. A sinister development is the building up of the armies of some of the bigger states on an efficient basis.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. We are told by people who can think only in terms of action taken in the legislatures, that it is not possible to wreck it, and there are ample provisions and safeguards to enable the Government to carry on despite a hostile majority. We are well aware of these safeguards; they are one of the principal reasons why we reject the Act. We know also that there are second chambers to obstruct us. We can create constitutional crises inside the legislatures, we can have deadlocks, we can obstruct the imperialist machine, but always there is a way out. The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organisation and mass action.

The policy of the Congress in regard to the legislatures is perfectly clear; only in one matter it still remains undecided—the question of acceptance or not of office. Probably the decision of this question will be postponed till after the elections. At Lucknow I ventured to tell you that, in my opinion, acceptance of office was a negation of our policy of rejection of the Act; it was further a reversal of the policy we had adopted in 1920 and followed since then. Since Lucknow the Congress has further clarified its position in the Election Manifesto and declared that we are not going to the legislatures to cooperate in any way with the Act but to combat it. That limits the field of our decision in regard to offices, and those who incline to acceptance of them must demonstrate that this is the way to non-cooperate with the Act, and to end it.

It seems to me that the only logical consequences of the Congress policy, as defined in our resolutions and in the Election Manifesto, is to have nothing to do with office and ministry. Any deviation from this would mean a reversal of that policy. It would inevitably mean a kind of partnership with British imperialism in the exploitation of the Indian people, an acquiescence, even though under protest and subject to reservations, in the basic ideas underlying the Act, an association to some extent with British imperialism in the hateful task of the repression of our advanced elements. Office accepted on any other basis is hardly possible, and if it is possible, it will lead almost immediately to deadlock and conflict. That deadlock and impasse does not frighten us; we welcome it. But then we must think in terms of deadlocks and not in terms of carrying on with the office.

There seems to be a fear that if we do not accept office, others will do so, and they will put obstacles in the way of

our freedom movement. But if we are in a majority we can prevent others from misbehaving; we can even prevent the formation of any ministry. If our majority is a doubtful one then office for us depends on compromises with non-Congress elements, a policy full of danger for our cause, and one which would inevitably lead to our acting in direct opposition to the Congress mandate of rejection of the Act. Whether we are in a majority or in a minority, the real thing will always be the organised mass backing behind us. A majority without that backing can do little in the legislatures, even a militant minority with conscious and organised mass support can make the functioning of the Act very difficult.

We have put the Constituent Assembly in the forefront of our programme, as well as the fight against the federal structure. With what force can we press these two vital points and build up a mass agitation around them if we wobble over the question of office and get entangled in its web?

We have great tasks ahead, great problems to solve both in India and in the international sphere. Who can face and solve these problems in India but this great organisation of ours, which has, through fifty years' effort and sacrifice, established its unchallengeable right to speak for the millions of India? Has it not become the mirror of their hopes and desires, their urge to freedom, and the strong arm that will wrest this freedom from unwilling and resisting hand? It started in a small way with a gallant band of pioneers, but even then it represented a historic force and it drew to itself the goodwill of the Indian people. From year to year it grew, faced inner conflicts whenever it wanted to advance and was held back by some of its members. But the urge to go ahead was too great, the push from below increased, and

though a few left us, unable to adjust themselves to changing conditions, vast numbers of others joined the Congress. It became a great propaganda machine dominating the public platform of India. But it was an amorphous mass and its organisational side was weak, and effective action on a large scale was beyond its powers. *The coming of Gandhiji brought the peasant masses to the Congress*, and the new constitution that was adopted at his instance in Nagpur in 1920 tightened up the organisation, limited the number of delegates according to population, and gave it strength and capacity for joint and effective action. The action followed soon after on a countrywide scale and was repeated in later years. But the very success and prestige of the Congress often drew undesirable elements to its fold and accentuated the defects of the constitution. The organisation was becoming unwieldy and slow of movement and capable of being exploited in local areas by particular groups. Two years ago radical changes were made in the constitution again at Gandhiji's instance. One of these was the fixation of the number of delegates according to membership, a change which has given a greater reality to our elections and strengthened us organisationally. But still our organisational side lags far behind the great prestige of the Congress, and there is a tendency for our committees to function in the air, cut off from the rank and file.

It was partly to remedy this that the Mass contacts resolution was passed by the Lucknow Congress, but unhappily the Committee that was in charge of this matter has not reported yet. The problem is a wider one than was comprised in that resolution for it includes an overhauling of the Congress constitution with the object of making it a closer knit body, capable of disciplined and effective

action. That action to be effective must be mass action, and the essence of the strength of the Congress has been this mass basis and mass response to its calls. But though that mass basis is there, it is not reflected in the organisational side and hence an inherent weakness in our activities. We have seen the gradual transformation of the Congress from a small upper class body, to one representing the great body of the lower middle classes, and later the masses of this country. As this drift to the masses continued the political role of the organisation changed and is changing, for this political role is largely determined by the economic roots of the organisation.

We are already and inevitably committed to this mass basis for without it there is no power or strength in us. We have now to bring that into line with the organisation, so as to give our primary members greater powers of initiative and control, and opportunities for day to day activities. We have, in other words, to democratise the Congress still further.

Another aspect of this problem that has been debated during the past year has been the desirability of affiliating other organisations, of peasants, workers and others, which also aim at the freedom of the Indian people, and thus to make the Congress the widest possible joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. As it is, the Congress has an extensive direct membership among these groups; probably 75 per cent. of its members come from the peasantry. But, it is argued, that functional representation will give far greater reality to the peasants and workers in the Congress. This proposal has been resisted because of a fear that the Congress might be swamped by new elements, sometimes even politically

backward elements. As a matter of fact, although this question is an important one for us, any decision of it will make little difference at present; its chief significance will be as a gesture of goodwill. For there are few well organised workers' or peasants' unions in the country which are likely to profit by Congress affiliation. There is not the least possibility of any swamping, and, in any event, this can easily be avoided. I think that now or later some kind of functional representation in the Congress is inevitable and desirable. It is easy for the Congress to lay down conditions for such affiliation, so as to prevent bogus and mushroom growths or undesirable organisations from profiting by it. A limit might also be placed on the number of representatives that such affiliated organisations can send. Some such recommendation, I believe, has been made by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

The real object before us is to build up a powerful joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. The Congress has indeed been in the past, and is today, such a united popular front, and inevitably the Congress must be the basis and pivot of united action. The active participation of the organised workers and peasants in such a front would add to its strength and must be welcomed. Co-operation between them and the Congress organisation has been growing and has been a marked feature of the past year. This tendency must be encouraged. The most urgent and vital need of India today is this united national front of all forces and elements that are ranged against imperialism. Within the Congress itself most of these forces are represented, and in spite of their diversity and difference in outlook, they have co-operated and worked

together for the common good. That is a healthy sign both of the vitality of our great movement and the unity that binds it together. The basis of it is anti-imperialism and independence. Its immediate demand is for a Constituent Assembly leading to a democratic State where political power has been transferred to the mass of the people. An inevitable consequence of this is the withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

These are the objective before us, but we cannot ignore the present day realities and the day to day problems of our people. These ever-present realities are the poverty and unemployment of our millions, appalling poverty and an unemployment which has even the middle classes in its grip and grows like a creeping paralysis. The world is full of painful contrasts today, but surely nowhere else are these contrasts so astounding as in India. Imperial Delhi stands, visible symbol of British power, with all its pomp and circumstance and vulgar ostentations and wasteful extravagance; and within a few miles of it are the mud huts of India's starving peasantry, out of whose meagre earnings these great palaces have been built, huge salaries and allowances paid. The ruler of a State flaunts his palaces and his luxury before his wretched and miserable subjects, and talks of his treaties and his inherent right to autocracy. And the new Act and Constitution have come to us to preserve and perpetuate these contrasts, to make India safe for autocracy and imperialist exploitation.

As I write, a great railway strike is in progress. For long the world of railway workers has been in ferment because of retrenchment and reduction in wages and against them is the whole power of the State. Some time ago there was a heroic strike in the Ambernath Match Factory near

Bombay, owned by a great foreign trust. But behind that trust and supporting it, we saw the apparatus of Government functioning in the most extraordinary way. The workers in our country have yet to gain elementary rights; they have yet to have an eight hour day and unemployment insurance and a guaranteed living wage.

But a vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasants. In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city. The Lucknow Congress laid stress on this land problem and called on the Provincial Committees to frame agrarian programmes. This work is still incomplete for the vastness and intricacy of it has demanded full investigation. But the urgency of the problem calls for immediate solution. Demands for radical reforms in the rent and revenue and the abolition of feudal levies have been made from most of the provinces. The crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes has led to a wide-spread cry for a moratorium and a substantial liquidation of debt. In the Punjab *Karza* (Debt) Committees have grown up to protect the peasantry. All these and many other demands are insistently made and vast gatherings of peasants testify to their inability to carry their present burdens. Yet it is highly doubtful if this problem can be solved piecemeal and without changing completely the land system. That land system cannot endure and an obvious step is to remove the intermediaries between the cultivator and the State. Cooperative or collective farming must follow.

The reform of the land system is tied up with the development of industry, both large-scale and cottage,

in order to give work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raise the pitiful standards of our people. That again is connected with so many other things—education, housing, roads and transport, sanitation, medical relief, social services, etc. Industry cannot expand properly because of the economic and financial policy of the Government which, in the name of Imperial Préférence, encourages British manufactures in India, and works for the profit of Big Finance in the City of London. The currency ratio continues in spite of persistent Indian protest; gold has been pouring out of India continuously now for five years at a prodigious rate, though all India vehemently opposes this outflow. And the new Act tells us that we may do nothing which the Viceroy or the Governor might consider as an unfair discrimination against British trade or commercial interests. The old order may yield place to the new but British interests are safe and secure.

And so one problem runs into another and all together form that vast complex that is India today. Are we going to solve this by petty tinkering and patchwork with all manner of vested interests obstructing us and preventing advance? Only a great planned system for the whole land and dealing with all these various national activities, co-ordinating them, making each serve the larger whole and the interests of the mass of our people, only such a planned system with vision and courage to back it, can find a solution. But planned systems do not flourish under the shadow of monopolies and vested interests and imperialist exploitation. They require the air and soil of political and social freedom.

These are distant goals for us today though the rapid march of event may bring us face to face with them sooner

than we imagine. The immediate goal—independence—is nearer and more definite, and that is why perhaps we escape, to a large extent, that tragic disillusion and hopelessness which affects so many in Europe.

We are apparently weak, not really so. We grow in strength, the Empire of Britain fades away. Because we are politically and economically crushed, our civil liberties taken away, hundreds of our organisations made illegal, thousands of our young men and women always kept in prison or in detention camp, our movements continually watched by hordes of secret servicemen and informers, our spoken word taken down lest it offend the law of sedition, because of all this and more we are not weaker but stronger, for all this intense repression is the measure of our growing national strength. War and revolution dominate the world and nations arm desperately. If war comes or other great crisis, India's attitude will make a difference. We hold the key of success in our hands if we but turn them rightly. And it is the increasing realization of this that has swept away the defeatist mentality of our people.

Meanwhile the general election claims our attention and absorbs our energy. Here too we find official interference, in spite of denial, and significant attempts to prevent secrecy of voting in the case of illiterate voters. The United Provinces have been singled out for this purpose and the system of coloured boxes, which will be used everywhere else, has been ruled out for the U. P. But we shall win in these elections in spite of all the odds—State pressure, vested interest, money.

That will be but a little step in a long journey, and we shall march on, with danger and distress as companions.

We have long had these for our fellow travellers and we have grown used to them. And when we have learnt how to dominate them, we shall also know how to dominate success.

## APPENDIX IV

### Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Conferences, 1919—1935.

The International Labour Organization has held nineteen Conferences, in 1919 at Washington, in 1920 at Genoa, and subsequently in Geneva. At these Conferences the following Draft Conventions and Recommendations have been adopted:—

#### *First Session (Washington, 1919)*

Draft Convention limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week.

Draft Convention concerning unemployment.

Recommendation concerning unemployment.

Recommendation concerning reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.

Draft Convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth.

Draft Convention concerning employment of women during the night.

Recommendation concerning the prevention of anthrax.

Recommendation concerning the protection of women and children against lead poisoning.

Recommendation concerning the establishment of Government health services.

Draft Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment.

Draft Convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry.

Recommendation concerning the application of the Berne Convention of 1906, on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

*Second Session (Genoa, 1920)*

Recommendation concerning the limitation of hours of work in the fishing industry.

Recommendation concerning the limitation of hours of work in inland navigation.

Recommendation concerning the establishment of national seamen's codes.

Draft Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea.

Recommendation concerning unemployment insurance for seamen.

Draft Convention concerning unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship.

Draft Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen.

*Third Session (Geneva, 1921).*

Recommendation concerning the prevention of unemployment in agriculture.

Recommendation concerning the protection, before and after childbirth, of women wage-earners in agriculture.

Recommendation concerning night work of women in agriculture.

Draft Convention concerning the age for admission of children to employment in agriculture.

Recommendation concerning night work of children and young persons in agriculture.

Recommendation concerning the development of technical agricultural education.

Recommendation concerning living in condition of agricultural workers.

Draft Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers.

Draft Convention concerning workmen's compensation in agriculture.

Recommendation concerning social insurance in agriculture.

Draft Convention concerning the use of white lead in painting.

Draft Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea.

*Fourth Session (Geneva, 1922)*

Recommendation concerning communication to the International Labour Office of statistical and other information regarding emigration, immigration and the repatriation and transit of emigrants.

*Fifth Session (Geneva, 1923)*

Recommendation concerning the general principles for the organisation of systems of inspection to secure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the workers.

*Sixth Session (Geneva, 1924)*

Recommendation concerning the development of facilities for the utilization of workers' spare time.

*Seventh Session (Geneva, 1925)*

Draft Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents.

Recommendation concerning the minimum scale of workmen's compensation.

Recommendation concerning jurisdiction in disputes on workmen's compensation.

Draft Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases.

Recommendation concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases.

Draft Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.

Recommendation concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.

Draft Convention concerning night work in bakeries.

#### *Eighth Session (Geneva, 1926)*

Draft Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship.

Recommendation concerning the protection of emigrant women and girls on board ship.

#### *Ninth Session (Geneva, 1926)*

Draft Convention concerning seamen's articles of agreement.

Draft Convention concerning the repatriation of seamen.

Recommendation concerning the repatriation of masters and apprentices.

Recommendation concerning the general principles for the inspection of the conditions of work of seamen.

*Tenth Session (Geneva, 1927)*

Draft Convention concerning sickness insurance for workers in industry and commerce and domestic servants.

Draft Convention concerning sickness insurance for agricultural workers.

Recommendation concerning the general principles of sickness insurance.

*Eleventh Session (Geneva, 1928)*

Draft Convention concerning the creation of minimum wages fixing machinery.

Recommendation concerning the application of minimum wages fixing machinery.

*Twelfth Session (Geneva, 1929)*

Draft Convention concerning the marking of the weight on heavy packages transported by vessels.

Draft Convention concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships.

Recommendation concerning the prevention of industrial accidents.

Recommendation concerning responsibility for the protection of power-driver machinery.

Recommendation concerning reciprocity as regards protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships.

Recommendation concerning the consultation of workers' and employers' organisations in the drawing up of regulations dealing with the safety of workers employed in loading or unloading ships.

*Thirteenth Session (Geneva, 1929)*

(No Conventions or Recommendations.)

*Fourteenth Session (Geneva, 1930)*

Draft Convention concerning forced or compulsory labour.

Draft Convention concerning the regulation of hours of work in commerce and offices.

Recommendation concerning indirect compulsion to labour.

Recommendation concerning the regulation of forced or compulsory labour.

Recommendation concerning the regulation of hours of work in hotels, restaurants, and similar establishments.

Recommendation concerning the regulation of hours of work in theatres and other places of public amusement.

Recommendation concerning the regulation of hours of work in establishments for the treatment or the care of the sick, infirm, destitute, or mentally unfit.

*Fifteenth Session (Geneva, 1931)*

Draft Convention limiting hours of work in coal mines.

*Sixteenth Session (Geneva, 1932)*

Draft Convention concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships (revised 1932).

Recommendation for expediting reciprocity as provided for in the Convention, adopted in 1932, concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships.

Draft Convention concerning the age for admission of children to non-industrial employment.

Recommendation concerning the age for admission of children to non-industrial employment.

*Seventeenth Session (Geneva, 1933)*

Draft Convention concerning fee-charging employment agencies.

Recommendation concerning employment agencies.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory invalidity insurance for persons employed in industrial or commercial undertakings, in the liberal professions, and for outworkers and domestic servants.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory invalidity insurance for persons employed in agricultural undertakings.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory old age insurance for persons employed in industrial or commercial undertakings, in the liberal professions, and for outworkers and domestic servants.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory old age insurance for persons employed in agricultural undertakings.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory widows' and orphans' insurance for persons employed in industrial or commercial undertakings in the liberal professions, and for outworkers and domestic servants.

Draft Convention concerning compulsory widows' and orphans' insurance for persons employed in agricultural undertakings.

Recommendation concerning the general principles of invalidity, old age and widows' and orphans' insurance.

*Eighteenth Session (Geneva, 1934)*

Draft Convention concerning employment of women during the night (revised 1934).

Draft Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases (revised 1934).

Draft Convention for the regulation of hours of work in automatic sheet-glass works.

Draft Convention ensuring benefit or allowances to the involuntarily unemployed.

Recommendation concerning unemployment insurance and various forms of relief of the unemployed.

*Nineteenth Session (Geneva, 1935)*

Draft Convention concerning the employment of women on underground work in mines of all kinds.

Draft Convention limiting hours of work in coal mines (revised 1935.)

Draft Convention concerning the reduction of hours of work to forty a week.

Draft Convention concerning the establishment of an International scheme for the maintenance of rights under invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance.

Draft Convention concerning the reduction of hours of work in glass bottle works.

Recommendation concerning unemployment among young persons.

The total results obtained up to the end of December, 1935, in the ratification of the Conventions may be summarised as follows:—

Ratification deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.....679 (excluding 22 ratifications of the Berne Convention prohibiting the use of white

phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, which formed the subject of a Recommendation in 1919.)

Ratifications authorised by the competent authorities  
.....50.

Ratifications recommended to the competent authorities  
.....82.



## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- |                    |   |                      |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|
| Adam, H. M.        | The Fallacies of Socialism  | 1925.                |
| Angell, N. ...     | The Great Illusion ...  | London, 1913.        |
| Barker, E. ...     | (i) Political Thought of<br>Plato and Aristotle ...                 | London, 1906..       |
|                    | (ii) Political Thought in<br>England: From Spencer<br>to To-day ... | London, 1915.        |
|                    | (iii) Plato and his Prede-<br>cessors ...                           | London, 1918.        |
| Barker, J. E.      | British Socialism ...   | 1908.                |
| Barnes, J. S.      | Universal Aspects of Fas-<br>cism ...                               | London, 1928..       |
| Bax, E. B. ...     | Ethics of Socialism ...   | 1889.                |
| Beer, M. ...       | (i) The Life and Teach-<br>ing of Karl Marx ...                     | 1918.                |
|                    | (ii) History of British So-<br>cialism, 2 Vols. ...                 | London, 1919-<br>20. |
| Bellamy, E.<br>B.  | Looking Backward ...  | 1887.                |
| Beni Prasad        | The Democratic Process ...  | India, 1935.         |
| Bernstein, E.      | Evolutionary Socialism ...  | 1909                 |
| Bliss, W. D.<br>P. | A Handbook of Socialism   | 1895.                |
| Brown, I. ...      | English Political Theory ..   |                      |
| Brown, W. J.       | The Underlying Principles<br>of Modern Legislation ...              | London, 1915.        |
| Burns, C. D.       | Political Ideals ...  | London, 1915.        |
| Carpenter, N.      | Guild Socialism ...   | London, 1922.        |

## 202 TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT

- Clay, A. ... Syndicalism and Labour ... London, 1911.
- Coker, F. W. Recent Political Thought N.Y., 1934.
- Cole, G. D. H. (i) The World of Labour London, 1913.  
 (ii) Self-Government in  
 Industry ... ... London, 1919.  
 (iii) Social Theory ... 1920.  
 (iv) Guild Socialism Re-  
 stated ... ... London, 1920.  
 (v) The Intelligent  
 Man's Guide Through  
 World Chaos ... 1932.  
 (vi) The Intelligent  
 Man's Review of Europe  
 To-day ... ... London, 1933.  
 (vii) What Marx Really  
 Meant ... ... London, 1934.  
 (viii) The Simple Case for  
 Socialism. ... ...
- Dickinson, G. Justice and Liberty ...  
 L. ...
- Dunning ... A History of Political  
 Theories (Barnes and  
 Others, Volume IV) ...
- Einzig, P. ... Economic Foundations of  
 Fascism ... ...
- Eltzbacker, P. Anarchism ... ...
- Ely, R. T. ... Socialism, Its Nature,  
 Strength and Weak-  
 nesses ... ... London, 1894.
- Engels, F. ... Socialism, Utopian and  
 Scientific ... ... N.Y., 1892.
- Ensor, R. C. Modern Socialism ... London, 1910.
- K.

- Finer, H. ... *Mussolini's Italy* ... London, 1935.
- Flint, R. ... *Socialism* ... London, 1908.
- Garner ... *Introduction to Political Science* ...
- Geltell, R. G. *A History of Political Thought* ... N.Y. & London
- Gide & Rist *History of Economic Doctrines* ... 1923.
- Gilchrist, R. *Principles of Political Science* ... 1923.
- Godwin, W. *Political Justice* ... 1793.
- Graham, W. *Socialism, New and Old* ... London, 1898.
- Haney, L. H. *History of Economic Thought* ...
- Hearnshaw, F. *A Survey of Socialism* ... London, 1928.  
J. C.
- Hertzler ... *The History of Utopian Thought* ... N.Y., 1923.
- Hillquit, M. (i) *History of Socialism in the United States* ... N.Y. & London, 1910.
- (ii) *Socialism in Theory and Practice* ... N.Y., 1909.
- Hitler, A. ... *My Struggle* ... Hurst and Blackett.
- Hobson, S. G. (i) *National Guilds* ... London, 1919.
- (ii) *National Guilds and the State* ... 1919.
- Hyndman, H. (i) *Historical Basis of Socialism in England* ... 1883.
- M. (ii) *Economics of Socialism* ... 1922.

## 204 TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT

- Joad, C. E. Modern Political Theory Oxford, 1924.  
M.
- Kautsky, K. The Dictatorship of the  
Proletariat ... .. 1920.
- Kirkup, T. ... A History of Socialism ... London, 1913.
- Konrad, H. ... A History of National  
Socialism ... .. London, 1935.
- Kropotkin, P. (i) Mutual Aid ...  
(ii) Fields, Factories and  
Workshops ... .. 1919.
- Laidler, H. W. A History of Socialist  
Thought ... .. London, 1927.
- Laski, H. J. (i) Communism ... London, 1927.  
(ii) Karl Marx ... London.
- Leacock, S. Elements of Political  
Science ... .. London, 1921.
- Lecky, W. E. Democracy and Liberty  
H. 1896.
- Lenin ... The State and Revolution 1917.
- L i c h t e n - The Development of Social  
berger, J. P. Theory ... .. 1924.
- Lindsay, A. Karl Marx's Capital ... 1925.  
D.
- MacDonald, R. (i) Socialism and Govern-  
ment ... .. London, 1909.  
(ii) Syndicalism ... London, 1912.  
(iii) The Socialist Move-  
ment ... .. London, 1920.  
(iv) Socialism; Practical  
and Constructive ... 1921.
- Mallock, W. A Critical Examination of  
H. Socialism ... .. London, 1912.

- Markham, S. A. History of Socialism ... London, 1930.  
F.
- Mertz, J. T. History of European  
Thought in the 19th  
Century, Vol. IV ...
- Mussolini, B. (i) My Autobiography ... Hurst &  
Blackhurst.  
(ii) The Political and  
Social Doctrine of  
Fascism ... London, 1933.
- Narain, Brij Indian Socialism ... India, 1937.
- Narain, J a i Why Socialism? ... India, 1936.  
Prakash ...
- Nehru, J. (i) Soviet Russia ...  
(ii) Autobiography ... London, 1936.
- Ogg, F. A. Economic Development of  
Modern Europe ... N.Y., 1924.
- Orage, A. R. National Guilds ... London, 1914.
- Pasvolsky, L. The Economics of Com-  
munism ... N.Y., 1921.
- Penty, A. J. (i) The Restoration of  
Medieval Guild System ... 1906.  
(ii) Old Worlds for New ... 1917.
- Pitigliani, F. The Italian Corporative  
State ... 1933.
- Rae, J. Contemporary Socialism N.Y., 1901.
- R a m, Asir- Political Theory and  
vatham, and Modern Governments ... India, 1935.  
Sharma ...
- Ritchie, D. G. The Principles of State  
Interference ... London, 1902.
- Rockow, L. Contemporary Political  
Thought in England ... London, 1925.

Rossignol, J., What is Socialism?

E. Le .

Rothenstein, 'The Soviet Constitution ...  
A.

Russel, B ... (i) The Proposed Roads to  
Freedom ... London, 1918.

(ii) The Practice and  
Theory of Bolshevism ... 1920.

(iii) Social Reconstruction London, 1923.

Schaffle, A. . (i) The Quintessence of  
Socialism ... London, 1889.

(ii) Impossibility of Social  
Democracy ... London, 1892.

Seligman, E. The Economic Interpreta-  
R. A. tion of History ... N.Y., 1907.

Shaw, B. ... The Intelligent Woman's  
Guild to Capitalism and  
Socialism ... London, 1928.

Skelton, O. D. Socialism .. N.Y., 1911.

Snowdon, P. Socialism and Syndicalism London, 1913.

Spargo, J. Elements of Socialism ... N.Y., 1920

Stalin, J. ... Leninism. (Two Volumes)

Strachey, J. (i) The Menace of Fascism  
(ii) The Theory and Prac-  
tice of Socialism ...

Tawney, R. H. (i) The Acquisitive Society  
(ii) Equality ..

Taylor, G. R. The Guild State ... London, 1919.  
S.

Todd, A. J., Theories of Social Progress 1918.

Towler, W. G. Socialism, Its Promise and  
& Ray, W. Failure .. London, 1920.

- Wallas, G. ... (1) *The Great Society* ... London, 1914-20-25.
- (2) *On Social Heritage* ...
- Webb, Sydney *Fabian Essays in Socialism* ... London, 1920.
- Webbs, S. & B. ... (i) *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* ... London, 1920.
- (ii) *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization. (Two Volumes.)* ... London, 1935.
- Wells, H. G. (i) *New Worlds for Old* ... London, 1908.
- (ii) *A Modern Utopia* ... N.Y.
- Zenker, E. V. *Anarchism* ...



## INDEX

(Of the Lecture only)

### A

Absolutism, 78  
 Act, Reform—(of 1867), 36  
     — Reform—(of 1884), 36  
     — Government of India—  
         (of 1935) 81 n., 86 n.,  
         89 n., 91, 92 n., 93 n.,  
         109 n., 110 n.  
 Ahmad, Z.A., "*Some Economic and Financial Aspects of British Rule in India*," 100 n  
 Ambedkar, Dr., 85  
 Anarchism, 46  
     — as a movement, 47  
     — chief difference from  
         communism, 47  
 Anarchy, 15, 16  
     — Final —, 2  
 Aristotle, 7  
     — on man as a social  
         animal, 1  
     — his view regarding the  
         abolition of family and  
         property, 5, 7  
 Ashraf, K. M., 96 n.  
 Assembly, constituent, 55 n.,  
     80 n., 86 n., 87 n., 92 n.,  
     110 n.  
     — Legislative—(of U.P.),  
         81 n., 91  
     — J. Lal's view regard-  
         ing constituent—, 91 n.  
 Association, International—,  
     22  
     — Universal German Work-  
         ing Men's — (at Leipzig),  
         25

Association, Universal Ger-  
     man Working Men's—  
         (at Frankfurt), 25  
     — Workers Cooperative  
         Production—, 35  
     — Land Tenure Reform—  
         (of 1870), 36  
     — International Socialist  
         —(in Holland), 52  
     — Zimmerwald —, 54  
 Augustine, "*City of God*,"  
     6  
     — as an Ethico-religious  
         Utopian, 6  
 Austria, 54  
     — Crown Prince of—, 52  
 Award, Communal—, 93 n.

### B

Babeuf, as one of the Utopian  
     Socialists, 10  
     — as a believer in the in-  
         nocence of the State of  
         Nature, 11  
 Bacon, F., "*New Atlantis*,"  
     8  
 Bakunin, 22, 48, 70  
     — and Nihilists, 46  
     — exile of—, 47  
 Basel, Congress at — (1869),  
     22  
 Bax, as, the founder of the  
     Socialist League, 37  
 Bebel, 27, 33  
 Belgium, 18, 53  
     — war against Germany,  
         52

- Bentham, J., 16, 34  
 — his warning against the follies of ancestors, 2  
 — as a writer in favour of sovereign state, 17  
 Bernstein, his Revisionism, 27, 33  
 — his principles, 33  
 Besant, Annie, as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Bismarck, 25  
 Blackstone, on Private Property, 15  
 Blanc, L., as an Utopian Socialist, 10  
 — is like a hyphen between Utopian School and Marxism, 14  
 — his Formula, 15  
 Blanqui, 41  
 Bolshevism, 43  
 Bombay, Resolution by the Socialist leaders on the Congress decision of "Office Acceptance, 87 n.  
 Bosanquet, his Idealism, 3  
 Bose, Subhas, 92 n.  
 Bourgeoisism, 99, 100 n.  
 Bradford, 38  
 Bradley, his Idealism, 3  
 Brisbane, A., as an Utopian Socialist, 10  
 Brousse, P., 41  
 Brussels, 50  
 — congress at—(1868), 22  
 — Bureau of—, 54  
 Burke, on the wisdom of forefathers, 2  
 — on Private Property, 15
- C**
- Cabet, as one of the Utopian Socialists, 10  
 — his "*The Voyage to Icaria*," 11  
 Cabet, as a believer in the industrialised state on a national scale, 11  
 — his Colony in Texas and Nauvoo, 12  
 Campanella, "*City of the Sun*," 8  
 — as a believer in the communism of women and property, 8  
 Capitalism, 9, 43, 66, 89, 95, 98  
 — gradual abolition of—, 44  
 Chintamani, 103  
 Christ, See Jesus  
 Clarke, Wm., as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Coker, "*Recent Political Thought*" 1 n., 16 n.  
 Cole, G. D. H., 71  
 — "*The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today*," 1  
 — one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 — "*Guild Socialism Restated*," 71  
 Collectivism, 3  
 Committee, Labour Representation—, 39  
 — Military Revolution—, 49  
 — National Cooperative Parliamentary Representative—, 51  
 — Decision of all India Congress—, at Delhi (March, 37), 86 n., 87 n.  
 — Working— of Indian Congress, 89 n., 92 n., 103  
 Common-Wealth, St. Simon's Cooperative—, 12  
 — Socialistic Common-Wealth and its gradual establishment, 14  
 Communism, 10, 15, 16, 17, 43, 58, 70, 99

- Communism, Plato's—, 5
  - of the State of Nature, 6
  - of Wealth, 8
  - of knowledge, 8
  - of women, 8
  - of Property, 8
  - Two phases of—, 44
  - First or Lower Phase of—, 45, 67, 69
  - Second, Highest or Final Phase of—, 45, 69, 111
  - as representing the Orthodox belief about Socialism, 45
  - difference between Anarchism and—, 47
  - Russian Communism and J. Lal's Presidential address, 55
  - its comparison with Fascism, 57
  - Military—, (1918-26) in Russia, 65
  - Stages of Russia's drive towards—, 66
  - Workers' Control and Military—, 71
- Conference, Hague—, (1872). 22
  - London—(1900), 39
  - New Castle—, 39
  - London—(1929), 55
  - Round Table—, 84
  - of 1873 in Geneva, 22
  - at Gotha, 25
  - of Jena (1913), 33
  - Trade Union—(1899), 38
  - Marseilles Trade Union—, 41
- Congress, of Berne, 50
  - of Basle, 50
  - of Paris, (1889), 50
  - All-Russian—(of Soviets in June, 1917), 49, 65
  - of Soviets (November)
- Congress, Indian National—, 79 n., 80, 87 n., 89, 90, 91, 92 n., 100, 102, 106 n., 107, 108 n.
  - Lahore—(1929), 86, 88, 95
  - Policy of—(in Legislatures) 92
  - Golden Jubilee Essays of—, 97
  - Faizpur—, 100 n.
  - Oath of Congress members, 103 n.
  - Contact with Muslim masses, 107 n.
- Constitution, Soviet—, 49
  - Weimer—, 56, 72
  - Russian—(1918), 64, 66 n., 71, 74 n.
  - Russian—(1923), 66, 71
  - Russian Draft—(1936), 66
  - New—, 67, 73
- Copenhagen, meeting of neutral Socialists in the Great War, 52
- Czar (Alexander II), 46
- Czar (Nicholas II), 48, 49, 72 n.

D

- Declaration, The Labour— (1918), 59
- Delhi, 82, 106 n.
  - Decision of the all-India Congress Committee at—, 86 n.
- Democracy, 55, 72, 100
- Desai, Bhulabhai, 96 n.
- De. Toqueville, 105
- Dominion Status, 94 n.
- Durham, Bishop of—, 35
  - revival of Christian Socialism by the Bishop

## E.

- Eisenach, 25  
 Engels, 18, 44, 104 n.  
   — on the meaning of the word 'Socialist', 19  
 England, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 53, 63, 64  
   — Socialism before the Great War in—, 34, 43  
   — Reform Bill (1832) of—, 35  
   — Socialism in—(post-war world), 59  
   — Labour twice forms the Government in—, 60  
 Erturt, Programme of, 27  
 Europe, 22, 42, 46, 47, 75

## F

- Fascism, 58, 70, 76 n., 89  
   — its comparison with communism, 57  
 Federation, 92 n.  
   — Social Democratic—, 36, 37, 39  
   — of Socialist Working Men of France, 41  
   — National Federation of Syndicates (1887), 41  
   — of *Bourses de Travail*, 41  
 Filmer, his Divine Right Theory, 104 n.  
 Fourier, 13, 14, 85  
   — as an Utopian Socialist, 10  
   — as a believer in a new social organisation on the harmonization of human passions, 12  
   — The Critical Utopian Socialism of—, 21  
 Fourierism, failure of—, 14

- France, 17, 18, 20, 34, 42, 43, 49, 52, 53, 98  
   — Socialism before the Great War in—, 40  
   — Federation of Socialist Working Men of—, 41  
   — Cooperative Movement in—, 51  
   — Socialism in—(post-war world), 58  
 Frankfurt, Working Men's Association (1863) at—, 25

## G

- Gandhi, 79, 84, 86, 90 n., 92, 95 n., 98 n., 99 n., 100 n., 103, 104 n., 106 n.  
   — On "Oath," 103 n.  
 Gandhism, 99, 100 n.  
 Garibaldi, 96  
 Garibaldism, 101  
 Geneva, Congress of—(1866), 22  
   — Congress of 1873 in—, 22  
 Germany, 18, 21, 27, 30, 32, 34, 43, 49, 51, 54, 64  
   — Socialism before Great War in—, 24  
   — Hitlerite regime in—, 54  
   — war against Belgium, 52  
   — Socialism in—, (post-war world), 56  
   — acceptance of syndicalist idea of a minority in—, 70  
   — Workers' Socialism in—, 76  
 Gide, C., 52  
 Godwin, on immoral effects of private property, 15  
   — as a writer favouring Anarchy, 16

Gotha, Congress at (1875)—, 25  
 — Programme of—, 25, 27  
 Government, Parliamentary form of—, 68  
 — British—, 78, 86 n., 87 n., 93 n.  
 Gray, I., 16  
 Greeley, H., as an Utopian Socialist, 10  
 Green, as a writer against English land-lordism, 9  
 Guesde, 41

## H

Hall, C., 18  
 — pointed out the struggle between working and capitalist classes, 16  
 Hardie Keir, as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Harney, J., 36  
 Harrington, "*Oceana*," 8  
 — as the writer of most realistic political pamphlet, 8  
 — his recommendation for an Empire of Laws, 9  
 — as Utopian and realist, 9  
 Hasan, Sir Wazir, on the word 'Mahomedan,' 109 n.  
 Hayes, his view on Nationalism, 4  
 Hegel, 23  
 — on the highest development of the idea, 2  
 — his Idealism, 3  
 — his lectures on Philosophy of History, 18  
 Hegelianism, 57, 70  
 Hertzler, J. O., "*The History of Utopian Thought*," 1  
 Hindenburg, death of—, 56

Hitler, 68, 70  
 — rise of—, 56  
 — as Chancellor and President of Germany, 56  
 — his view regarding the place of woman in life, 58  
 Hobbes, on man as a quarrelsome being, 1  
 — Social Contract of—, 105  
 — His "*Leviathan*," 106  
 Hobson, S. G., on Guild Socialism, 40  
 Hodgskin, T., 16  
 Hyndman, "*England in All*," 36  
 — his Democratic Federation, 36, 37, 39  
 — Split among the Democratic Federationists, 37

## I

Imperialism, 68, 88, 89, 90, 92 n., 94 n.  
 — British—(in India), 84, 93 n., 95 n.  
 Independence, complete—(of India), 55 n., 110 n.  
 — meaning of—, 94 n.  
 India, 54, 55, 81 n., 84, 85, 89, 90, 92 n., 93 n., 96 n., 97, 98, 100, 102, 103 n., 106 n., 107 n.  
 — Socialism in—, 75, 76, 82  
 — points of favour and of difficulty for the advent of Socialism in—, 77, 78  
 — causes of the growth of Socialist numbers in—, 79  
 — reduction of pays of ministers in—, 79  
 — Neo-constitutionalism in—, 89 n.

Individualism as creating a  
reaction for collectivism,  
3

Inge, D., on man as a blood  
thirsty savage, 1

International, —The First—  
(1864), 22, 25, 41, 49

—Second—, 45, 49, 50, 54,  
55, 68, 87, 88 n.

—Third—, 45, 52, 54, 55,  
88 n.

—Labour Socialist—(of  
1923), 55

—Vienna—, (1920), 55

Islam, 103, 104 and n., 106  
n., 107 and n., 112

—and Socialism, 102, 104

—conclusion about Social-  
ism and—, 106

—the first principle of —,  
106

Italy, 51, 85

—acceptance of Syndicalist  
idea of a minority in—,  
70

## J

Jackson, H., his comparison  
of Fascism and Commun-  
ism, 57

—on Russian religious  
policy, 72 n., 73 n.

—on Religion and Social-  
ism, 104

Jallianwala Bagh, 79

Jamiat-ul-Ulemai-Hind 106  
n.

Jena, Congress of—(1913), 33

Jesus, 6, 7, 73

Jinnah, M. A., 103, 107 n.

—Babu Rajendra Pd.'s  
offer to —, 108 n.

Jones, E., 36

## K

Kautsky, 44, 92 n.

Kerensky, Government of—,  
49

Khilafat, 79

Kifayat Ullah, 106 n.

Kingsley, Charles, as the  
founder of Christian  
Socialism, 35

Kropotkin, exile of—, 47

## L

Laidler, H. W., 97

—“*A History of Socialis-  
tic Thought*,” 1, 47

Laski, as one of the Fabian  
writers, 38

Lassalle, 18, 24, 25, 27, 33,  
43

Lausanne, Congress at—,  
(1867), 22

Leader, The, 80 n., 86 n., 90  
n., 96 n., 104 n.

League, Communistic—(of  
1847), 18, 22

—Socialistic—, 37

—National Guild (1915)—,  
40

—of Nations, 53, 63, 111

—Economic Section of the  
League of Nations, 61,  
62, 63

—Muslim—, 108 n.

Lenin, 44, 45, 48, 52, 68, 70,  
71, 92 n., 103, 104 n.

—as the philosopher and  
guide of Bolshevism, 43

—his ideas, 43

—chief points in the philo-  
sophy of—, 47

—his opposition to war (in  
1917), 49

—as the president of the  
Bolshevik government,  
49

Lenin, his view regarding the place of woman in life, 58  
 — death of—, 65  
 — his communism, 101  
 Leninism, 99, 100 n.  
 — Stalin's definition of—, 68  
 — marriage of Hegelianism and—, 70  
 Liebknecht, 27, 33  
 London, 18, 22, 41

# M

Machiavelli, on man as a crafty and greedy animal, 1  
 MacDonald, R., 53, 59  
 — as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Mahatma, see Gandhi  
 Manifesto, Communist (of 1848), 19, 20, 21, 22, 54, 76, 77  
 — its chief features, 19  
 Markham, S. F., "*A History of Socialism*," 1, 27  
 Marx, K., 3, 9, 16, 22, 27, 33, 42, 43, 45, 103, 104 n., 107  
 — on material conditions of existence, 2  
 — as founder of the Socialist doctrine, 4  
 — as a beginner of Scientific Socialism, 10  
 — his Scientific Socialism, 18  
 — his 'Capital,' 23  
 — his Economic or the Materialistic Interpretation of History, 23, 33  
 — his Labour Theory of Value and Surplus Value, 24, 33

— criticism of his principles by Revisionists, 34  
 Marxism, 68, 101  
 Massani, M. R., 87  
 Maurice, F. D., as the founder of Christian Socialism, 35  
 Mazzini, 96  
 Mecca, 13 n., 104  
 Mill, J. S., 73 n., 107 n.  
 — as a writer condemning private property in land, 36  
 — his Land Tenure Reform Association, 36  
 Monastic Orders, of Middle Ages, 6  
 More, T., his protests against the Social Order, 7  
 — his demand for 'Community of property' and the abolition of classes, 8  
 Morelly, 106  
 — as an Utopian Socialist, 10  
 — regards Private Property the main cause of inequality and human misery, 11  
 — his formula regarding ownership of wealth and property, 11  
 — as a believer in the innocence of the State of Nature, 11  
 Morris, W., as the founder of the Socialist League, 37  
 Moscow, 54  
 Movement, the Co-operative  
 —, 50  
 — French—, 41  
 — Co-operative Retail—, 51  
 — Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience—, 80  
 — Harijan—, 84

Muhammad, 103, 106

Murti, S., 96 n.

Mussolini, 68, 70, 85

## N

Narain, J. P., declaration of  
—, 100 n.

Nationalism, 55 n., 89

— Hayes' view on—, 4

Naqvi, Shafiq Ahmad, his  
case in Lucknow Univer-  
sity, 108 n.

Nazism, 56, 57

— as the fruit of the marri-  
age of Hegelianism and  
Leninism, 76

Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 82, 85,  
90 n., 94 n., 96, 98, 99,  
103, 104, 105, 106 n.,  
108 n., 110 n.

— his 'Presidential Ad-  
dresses,' 55 n., 85, 86

— as the mouthpiece of  
Sovietism in India, 55 n.

— his declarations against  
'Office Acceptance,' 55 n.

— his justification of the  
use of force against the  
Cawnpore strikers, 55 n.

— his mission, 80

— as the foremost leader  
of India, 85

— his "*Soviet Russia*," 85

— his first reference to  
Socialism, 86

— his 'Internationalism,'  
88

— his First Address (*i.e.*,  
Lucknow Address) and  
the points raised therein,  
88, 89

— his Address to National  
Convention, 91 n.

— his views regarding  
'Constituent Assembly,'  
91 n.

Nehru, his disciplinary action  
against some members of  
the Congress, 92 n.

— his meaning of the word  
'Independence,' 93 n.,  
94 n.

— his condemnation of the  
despatch of the Indian  
troops to Shanghai, 96 n.

— his loin cloth policy, 101

— his contention that reli-  
gion and politics must  
be separated, 107 n.

— his gross ignorance re-  
garding Islam, 107 n.

Nehruism, 88, 98, 102, 103 n.

— meaning of—, 55 n., 100

— as standing for 'Na-  
tional Independence,' 88  
n.

— it stands for Inter-  
national Solidarity  
against Capitalism and  
Imperialism, 88 n.

— it stands for Nationalism  
and Socialism, and not  
for National Socialism,  
88 n.

— it stands for Nationalised  
Socialism, 88 n.

— it stands for Socialised  
Nationalism, 88 n.

— in Dress, 99

— in Spirit, 99

— as a compromise between  
Marxism and Tolstoy-  
ism; between Lenin's  
Communism and Gandhi's  
Non-violent non-cooper-  
ation, etc., 101

— is not stagnation; it is  
always kicking, 101

## O

Oastler, 36

Oath, meaning of—, 103 n.  
 — wrong conception of  
 Gandhi regarding—, 103  
 n.  
 — U.P. Minister's inter-  
 pretation of—(of alle-  
 giance), 103 n.

O' Brien, 36

O'Conner, 36

Ogilvie, his proposals for the  
 limitation of Private  
 Property, 15  
 — as a believer in Equality  
 of man, 15

Oliver, S., as one of the  
 Fabian writers, 38

Orage, A. R., on Guild  
 Socialism, 40

Owen, R., 16, 18, 34, 36, 50  
 — as an Utopian Social-  
 ist, 10, 17

— his 'New Harmony  
 Colony' and its failure,  
 17

— Critical Utopian Social-  
 ism of—, 21

## P

Paine, T., his proposals for  
 the limitation of private  
 property, 15

— his proposal for 'In-  
 heritance Tax,' 15

Paley, on Private Property,  
 15

Parmanand, Bhai, 103

Party, Social Democratic  
 Working Men's—, 25

— Socialistic Working  
 Men's— 25, 29

— proceedings of Social  
 Democratic—, 30, 31,  
 32, 48, 53

— demands of Social  
 Democratic—, 32, 33

Party, Independent Labour—  
 (1893), 38

— Labour (Parliamentary)  
 —, 39

— British Socialist—, 39

— United Socialist—, 42

— Revolutionary— (1901),  
 48

— Independent Socialist  
 (1916)—, 53

— French Communist—,  
 58

— United Socialist—of  
 France), 58

— British Labour—, 59

— Ten points laid down by  
 English Labour—, 63 n.

— Russian Communist—,  
 67 n.

— Congress Socialist—(in  
 India)—82 n.

— Executive of the Social-  
 ist—, 93 n.

— All-India Socialist Sum-  
 mer Camp, 97 n.

Patna, 97 n.

— Congress Socialist  
 Party's Meeting at—, 82  
 n., 87 n., 93 n., 100 n.

Penty, A. G., on Guild  
 Socialism, 39

Petersburg, St., 49

— Union of struggle for the  
 liberation of the work-  
 ing classes (1895) of—, 48

Petrograd, 49

Phalanxes, meaning of, 13

Philosophy, Stoic, 6

Plato, 4

— his collectivist state, 3

— as the starting point of  
 Utopianism, 5

— his 'Communism' as  
 remedy for moral and  
 economic malady, 5

— his 'Republic,' 5, 7, 8

— as a Socialist, 45

Policy, The New Economic—  
 (of 1924), 66  
 Programme, Details of Gotha  
 —, 25  
 — Erfurt—, 27, 33  
 — First Labour—, 59  
 — Second Labour—(1929),  
 61  
 — the reforms put forth by  
 the Second Labour—, 61  
 — Russian—(1928), 72, 73  
 n.  
 Proudhon, as a writer favour-  
 ing Anarchy, 15  
 — his philosophy of Pro-  
 perty, 21

## R

Rajendra Pd., his offer to  
 Mr. Jinnah, 108 n.  
 Relativism, 98 n.  
 Religion, 72, 111  
 — views of Marx, Engels,  
 Lenin on—, 104 n.  
 Revisionism, 27, 33  
 Revolution, French, 10, 15,  
 21  
 — Industrial—, 14, 20  
 — Proletariat—, 44  
 — First Revolution in  
 Russia, 49  
 — Second Revolution and  
 the creation of U.S.S R.,  
 49  
 — Russian—, 70  
 — Bolshevik—, 71  
 Reybaud, 34  
 — his theories of Value and  
 wages, 16  
 Ricardo, 18  
 — his theories of Value and  
 Wages, 16  
 Rochdale, Co-operative, 35  
 — experiment of—, 51  
 — principles of—, 51  
 Rodbertus, 18, 24, 27, 43

Rousseau, 10, 106  
 — on the nature of man, 2  
 — his collectivism, 3  
 — on Inequalities and  
 Social Contract, 10  
 — as a Socialist, 45  
 Roy, M. N., 89, 92 n.  
 Russia, 43, 46, 49, 54, 67 n.,  
 68, 70, 75 n., 76, 77, 78,  
 79, 90, 96, 97, 98, 100,  
 103, 104  
 — victory of Socialism in  
 —, 5  
 — Socialism before the  
 Great War in—, 42  
 — rise of various Unions  
 in—, 47  
 — Japan's defeat to—, 48  
 — Co-operative Movement  
 in—, 51  
 — Socialism in—(post-war  
 world), 64  
 — New Economic Policy  
 of—, 65  
 — Between 1924—1936, 66  
 — Stages of progress of  
 Russia towards commun-  
 ism, 66  
 — Socialism of—, 69  
 — freedom of thought in  
 —, 72  
 — stages in the develop-  
 ment of anti-religionism  
 and anti-God movement  
 in—, 74 n.  
 — Five Year Plan of—, 83

## S

Saeed Ahmad, 106 n.  
 Savonarola, his protests  
 against the Social Order,  
 7  
 Seneca, on the communism of  
 the State of Nature, 6  
 — and the legal thought of  
 Rome, 6

- Serbia, ultimatum of, Austria to—, 52
- Shanghai, 96 n.
- Shaw, G. B., as one of the Fabian writers, 38
- Simon, St., 13
- as an Utopian Socialist, 10
- as a believer in the gradual making of the Ideal Society, 12
- Sismondi, the Petty Bourgeois Socialism of—(in France), 20
- Socialism, 40, 43, 44, 45, 50, 55 n., 56, 57, 69, 72, 78, 81, 87, 89, 90, 92 n., 96, 100, 103, 105, 106, 107 n., 108
- origin, rise and development of—, 4
- Utopian—, 9, 18
- first beginning of—, 9, 10
- criticism of various schools of—, 20
- Reactionary—, 20
- Feudal—, 20
- Christian—, 20, 35
- Petty Bourgeois—, 20
- True—, 21
- Conservative or Bourgeois—, 21
- Critical Utopian—, 21
- The First International of—, 22
- The Principles of Scientific—, 23
- Revolutionary—, 23
- before the Great War in Germany, 24
- in other lands, 34
- before the Great War in England, 34
- Marxian—, 36, 110 n
- Guild—, 39, 72
- Socialism before the Great War in France, 40
- before the Great War in Russia, 42
- characteristics of the Socialism of England, France and Germany, 43
- Marxian Revolutionary—, 43
- development of—, 44
- various meanings of the term, 45 n.
- and Great War, 52
- in the post-war world, 54, 56
- in Germany (post-war world), 56
- Collectivism of —, 57
- in France (post-war world), 58
- in England (post-war world), 59
- in Russia (post-war world), 64
- advance of—(in Russia), 66 n.
- achievement of—, 67
- the Russian Orthodox—, 69, 104 n., 109 n
- National—, 69, 70
- Russian—, 69
- International Revolutionary—, 70
- in India, 75, 82, 98
- Workers'—(in Germany), 76
- spread of Socialism in younger generation in India, 83, 84
- first reference of—, (by J. Lal), 86
- The Methods of Indian—, 96
- and Islam, 102
- and war against Religion, 103
- estimate of— 111

Society, Fenwick Weavers—  
(Scotland), 50

— Brighton—, 50

— Fabian—, 37

— principles laid down by  
the Fabian—, 37

— Two phases of Com-  
munist—, 44

— Capitalistic—, 54

Spain, Socialism in, 76 n.\*

— Civil War in—, 76 n., 88

Southey, 16

Spence, 15, 18, 36

— his proposals for the  
limitation of Private Pro-  
perty, 15

Spencer, H., on the blessedness  
of Final Anarchy, 2

Stalin, 66, 92

— The coming of—, 65

— and Leninism, 68

— his idea of the Party, 68

— his idea of the Marxian  
Conception of Equality,  
69

'State, Totalitarian—, 3

— Sovereign—, 17

— as the product of the  
irreconcilability of class  
antagonisms, 44

— Proletariat—, 45

Strike, General—, 41, 42, 52

Swaraj, 100 n.

— Bhawan, 97, 101

— Purna (Complete)—, 92  
n.

'Syndicalism,—and the Social  
groups, 41

— Principles of—, 42

## T

Tax, Inheritance— (proposed  
by Paine), 15\*

Terrorism, 89

Texas, 12

Tolstoy, 48

— condemnation of the  
doctrine of assassination,  
47

Tolstoyism, 101

Trotsky, his opposition to war  
(in 1917), 49

— as the Minister of War,  
49

— Exile of— (in 1918), 65

## U

Union, Christian Socialist—  
(1889), 35

— Trade—, 40, 41

— Trade Union Organisa-  
tion of Workers, 42

— Cooperative— (of 1869),  
51

— Soviet—, 73 and n.

— Council of Soviet—, 74

— Civil Liberties—, 102

U. S. S. R. (Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republic), 49,  
65, 74 n., 89

U. S. A., 54, 74, 75 and n.

Utopianism, 4

— as marking the first  
origin of Socialism, 4

— usefulness and defects  
of —, 18

## V

Value, Ricardo's Theories  
of —, 16

Versailles, 13

Vienna, International of —,  
55

Voltaire, 10

## W

Wallace, on Private Property,  
15

- Wallas, G., 79  
 — as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 War, Great —, 34, 39, 40, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 56, 88  
 — The doctrine of class —, 23  
 — Socialism and the Great —, 52  
 — Great War and the split among the German Socialists and the declaration of Republic, 53  
 — war and the split among French Socialists, 53  
 Wardha, decision regarding 'Office Acceptance' at — (July, '37), 82, 92 n.  
 Webbs, S., as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Wells, H. G., as one of the Fabian writers, 38  
 Westminster, Statute of —, 94 n., 95 n.  
 Wilson, his Fourteen points, 54
- Z
- Zaheer, Sajjad, 96 n.  
 Zimmerwald, Association of, 52

